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Speech and Communication

Editorial . . KEITH BROOKS

CREDO — A DECLARATION OF FAITH CONCERNING SPEECH EDUCATION . . . . . *E. C. Buehler*

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THE SPEECH OF YOUNG STUTTERERS IN THE PRESENCE OF THEIR MOTHER . . . . . *William D. Trotter*

In Memoriam: HENRY LEE EWBANK . . . . . *George V. Bohman*

IT'S MORE FUN TO KNOW BOOKS REFLECTIONS FROM THE RETIRED

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VOLUME XII

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NUMBER 1

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THE CENTRAL STATES SPEECH JOURNAL

VOLUME XII AUTUMN 1960 NUMBER 1

SPEECH AND COMMUNICATION . . *An Editorial* . . . *Keith Brooks* 3

CREDO — A DECLARATION OF FAITH CONCERNING SPEECH EDUCATION . . . . . *E. C. Buehler* 4

ARISTOTLE'S THEORY OF STASIS IN FORENSIC AND DELIBERATIVE SPEECH IN THE *Rhetoric* . . . . *James G. Backes* 6

STEVENSON: THE 1956 CAMPAIGN . . . . . *Raymond Yeager* 9

THE CLASSICAL ORIGINS OF DEBATE . . . . . *Paul MacKendrick* 16

TOWARD A POINT OF VIEW FOR CONTEST DEBATE . . . . . *Theodore Clevenger, Jr.* 21

STOCK ISSUES IN TOURNAMENT DEBATES . . . . *Kim Giffin and Kenneth Megill* 27

ON THE MEANING OF THE TERM *Prima-Facie* IN ARGUMENTATION . . . . . *Robert L. Scott* 33

BARABAS AND SHYLOCK AGAINST A BACKGROUND OF JEWISH HISTORY IN ENGLAND . . . . . *Bill G. Hulsopple* 38

THE SPEECH OF YOUNG STUTTERERS IN THE PRESENCE OF THEIR MOTHER . . . . . *William D. Trotter* 51

IT'S MORE FUN TO KNOW . . . . . *Franklin H. Knower* 55

BOOKS: ON COLLECTIONS OF SPEECHES . . . . . *Richard Murphy* 56

REFLECTIONS FROM THE RETIRED . . . . . *F. Lincoln D. Holmes* 62

In Memoriam: HENRY LEE EWBANK . . . . . *George V. Bohman* 65

STATE ASSOCIATION NEWS . . . . . *John Tolch* 66

THE CENTRAL STATES SPEECH JOURNAL

VOLUME XII AUTUMN 1960 NUMBER 1

Speech And Communication

An Editorial

The academic image of a Department of Speech in American colleges and universities frequently reflects an alarming misinterpretation of intent and accomplishment. It is indeed paradoxical that "experts" in the study and application of oral communication have themselves tended to fail in communicating the objectives and significance of the teaching, activities, research and service of the modern day Department of Speech. It is indeed paradoxical that many have tended to fail in the realms of information and persuasion.

Speech as an academic discipline has tended to prosper most where it has functioned as an integrator of related disciplines. This does not deny the continuing contributions of intradepartmental functions. It merely suggests, and in measure verifies, a possible point of departure for the future.

In view of the fact that an increasing number of individuals and departments in a modern university are continuously making contributions to the study of communication and because of the belief that speech can be facilitated by stressing communication as a dominant feature and standard of this type behavior, it seems logical that speech with its highly interdisciplinary nature should become more closely related to those individuals and departments which focus on the study of individual and collective communicative behavior. The establishment of an administrative environment predicated on the commonality of communicative behavior and regardless of the diversity in approach or methodology could provide a depth and breadth, not otherwise possible, pursuant to the integration, co-ordination, sponsoring, application and stimulation of theory and research.

Further justifications for the establishment of some type of communication "unit" (whether it be college, institute, center, division, etc.) need to be considered. Among them might be the following:

(1) A substantial body of theory and observed data does exist.
(2) The focusing of attention on communication appears to be more timely and realistic.
(3) Basic research common to all departments is probably now possible.
(4) A common conceptual vocabulary needs to be developed in connection with basic research in communication.
(5) New problems and methods in research would probably evolve.
(6) Interdepartmental study programs for students might be facilitated.
(7) Communication oriented teams representative of varying disciplines could bring richness to seminars and service programs.
(8) The area of communication has caught the professional interest of students from many academic backgrounds.

The fusing of traditions, without impairing that which is unique, within a stimulating and dynamic environment could result in an academic center devoted to individual and collective communicative behavior of considerable significance. The end result might well provide improved validity for speech as an academic discipline. The means to the end should excite those interested in the scholarly pursuit of their profession.

KEITH BROOKS
Editor

Credo – A Declaration of Faith Concerning Speech Education

E. C. Buehler
University of Kansas

This is a philosophical statement about the role of speech as related to general education and better living. Part I concerns the student, Part II, the teacher. It is a section from a speech recently delivered before the teaching staff of the beginning speech course at the University of Kansas.

Part I

I believe of all human functions the gift of speech is the most miraculous. I believe of all human forms of communications speech is supreme. I believe if speech were to stop, all civilized living would come to a grinding halt.

I believe the ability to be articulate is essential to inner harmony, to emotional maturity, and mental balance. I believe that if all people could be completely articulate at all times, there would be no more wars, no more jails, more stable homes and more happy people.

I believe speech is essential to the growth and flowering of the human personality and provides a way for self-discovery and self-renewal. For many it is a way of self-expression without brush or pen. I believe the act of speech is a total process, and when it reaches optimum effectiveness, the whole man is communicates. What you are is always part of what you say.

I believe there is no substitute for content in the speaking process. Materials of intellectual worth remain the essence of eloquence. Speech skills may have their importance but they no more make a speech than clothes make the man. The center of gravity in all oral communications is thought and the idea.

I believe you should make self-reliance your cardinal virtue. Heed the words of Shakespeare, "This above all – to thine own self be true." Rely upon your ability. Never be a party to plagiarism or dishonest work. It will plague you as long as you live. You will have to think for yourself, speak for yourself, and act for yourself in real life. Why not cultivate the habit in your speech class?

I believe every student should develop a conscience for truthfulness and responsible speech. He should show sense, not nonsense; sincerity, not cleverness. He should be real and genuine and not act like a ham. Let teachers and students alike condemn charlatanism, falsehood, and superficiality.

I believe speech has no absolutes, and a completely perfect speech has not yet been made. I believe speech offers a lifetime challenge where there can be no final summit of achievement beyond which one can go no higher.

I believe the individuality of the speaker is a sacred and valuable asset in the speaking process. I believe, therefore, any student with normal intelligence, normal

emotional balance, and normal speech mechanism may have at his command those personal resources which enable him to make certain speeches which cannot be equaled by any other person. Every student may have that hidden "inner know how" to speak at some time superbly well.

Part II

I believe you as a speech teacher must deal with people rather than mere theory and principle. I believe you must teach with your heart and soul as well as your head.

I believe you should enjoy teaching speech, and if the venture is boring, you should seek other occupations. I believe the kind of person you are may be more important than your grade transcripts, the degrees you hold, or your knowledge of the field.

I believe your classes may be either the most boring or the most exciting and stimulating which a student may experience in his entire college career. I believe what happens in the classroom should never be left to the spur of the moment. I believe you should plan and prepare and be completely tuned up mentally and emotionally for every class session.

I believe you should thoroughly brief your students on the nature of a speech class compared to other classes. I believe each student individually should be challenged to develop his own capacity to the fullest and that he should compete with himself rather than for grades.

I believe through your classroom craftsmanship you must create a suitable environment by which the student's speaking experience is most rewarding. A class with ideal group spirit almost teaches itself.

I believe you should be fully aware of many human intangibles. You are dealing intimately and closely with human elements. However, your attitude toward human values reflects only your point of view. Remember it may be fallible. Speeches and speakers sometimes have souls, and the soul part cannot be measured by an all-purpose yard stick that one might use when measuring a student's work in mathematics or in some physical or natural science. Speech development is vital to the maximum personal development of the student.

I believe in the power of positive thinking in a speech class. All criticism should be constructive, should fit the individual speaker, and the specific goals of the assignment. Criticism should fit the student's needs, not reflect the teacher's whims.

I believe the academic strength of the course should lie essentially in the day to day quality of the speeches rather than the crammed knowledge of text theories. I believe generally a five-minute speech should require from three to five hours of preparation. I believe in all major assignments which demand careful preparation. The ill prepared student should not be allowed to speak.

I believe you should stimulate, guide, direct, and challenge a student toward working out a creative piece in his own way, and when he asks "how *you* want him to do it," you have already failed in your basic mission. I believe you should be friend and counselor to the student rather than a stern classroom official. Students should like and respect you, but if there must be a choice between the two, heaven forbid, choose the latter. Be their master — the kind that leads, not commands.

Aristotle's Theory of Stasis in Forensic and Deliberative Speech in the *Rhetoric*

James G. Backes
Southern Illinois University

Through definition, classification, and example, an explanation of Aristotelian stasis will be developed.

In the course of utterance, the speaker must be aware of the possibility of disagreement, originating from an individual's or group's negative reaction to one or more of the speaker's remarks. This negative reaction may or may not have been planned by the speaker. In either case, Quintilian states that " . . . the first collision between the parties to the dispute . . ." constitutes stasis.[1] Perhaps an analogy would aid clarification: the band's cymbal-player brings together Cymbal A and Cymbal B; at the point these cymbals meet (that is, at that point when neither Cymbal A nor Cymbal B can progress along its directed path), a stopping, or halting, or stasis occurs.[2] Dieter states in his definition of stasis that ". . . the rest, pause, halt, or standing still which inevitably occurs between opposites as well as between contrary 'moves' or motions . . . " constitutes stasis.[3] Nadeau says " . . . as applied to rhetoric, a stasis or *issue* [italics mine] is a point in controversary which acts as a focus or center for opposing contentions."[4]

Authors disagree as to the categories of stasis. Quintilian says that " . . . Aristotle in his *Rhetoric* states that all enquiry turns on the question *whether a thing is, or what kind it is, how great it is, and of how many parts it consists.*'[5] Quintilan's personal categories include conjecture, definition, and quality.[6] Nadeau states that the writers, following Hermagoras, fell into two groups: those who agreed with Hermagoras' four stases and those who reduced stasis into three categories.[7] In their writings, Dieter[8] and Nadeau[9] concur in their acceptance of four major stases; conjectural – "being," definitive (which Dieter labels "Quantitative") – "name," qualitative – "degree," and relative – "place." Stated in a more mundane fashion, these stases amount to: "Is there a problem?" What is it?" "How big is it?" and "Where should we handle it?"

This article will not attempt a complete presentation of every example of stasis which occurs in the *Rhetoric*. Rather it will indicate, through the application of a utilitarian definition and classification of stasis to forensic and deliberative oratory, that Aristotle, although not using the term *stasis* in the *Rhetoric*, was well aware of a point in controversy which could act as a basis for opposing arguments.

The forensic orator, according to Aristotle, must be concerned with an individual's accusation or defense. The information presented to the audience, jury, and/or judge will deal with events of the past, in an effort to determine whether there has been justice or injustice. The most casual observer can detect the possibilities of stasis in a forensic speaking situation.

Conjectural stasis (Has there been a crime? Did it take place? Does it exist?) can be seen in these examples:

1. "If you maintain an act *was not committed*, your main task is to prove it."[10] (Does the crime exist?)

2. "In order to be wronged, a man must (1) suffer actual harm, (2) suffer it against his will . . . The doer of the action must either understand and intend the action or not understand and intend it."[11] (Has there been a crime? Did it take place?)

3. "Thus the litigant will sometimes not deny that a thing has happened . . ."[12] (In this example, Aristotle is implying the crime did exist.)

Definitive stasis (Is the label correct?) in forensic oratory is exemplified by these remarks:

1. "If you maintain that the act *did no harm*, prove this."[13] (Was the act harmful or not harmful? Is the label for the crime correct?)

2. "He will admit that he took a thing, but not that he 'stole' it; that he struck someone first, but not that he committed 'outrage'."[14] (Is the definition the right one?)

3. "Thus the litigant will sometimes not deny . . . that he has done harm . . ."[15] (This example denotes Aristotle's "acceptance" of a definition; however, one can see that this definition could be the basis for stasis.)

Qualitative stasis (What is the degree?), as relevant to forensic speaking, can be discovered in Aristotle's *Rhetoric*:

1. "If you maintain that the act was *less* than is alleged, or is justified, prove these facts . . ."[16] (Was the crime big or small? Here Aristotle asks whether there was justification for the crime.)

2. "The worse of two acts of wrong done to others is that which is prompted by the worse disposition."[17] (What is the degree of guilt?)

3. "Thus, the litigant will sometimes not deny that . . . he has done harm . . . But that he is guilty of injustice he will never admit."[18] (Again, there is a question of whether the act was justified.)

Relative stasis (Where should something be or not be?), as it exists in forensic oratory, can be discovered in these examples:

1. "Euripedes said that his opponent himself was guilty in bringing into the law-courts cases whose decision belonged to the Dionysiac contests."[19] (Where should the trial be held?)

2. "There are those whom it does not pay to waste time in waiting for trial or damages such as foreigners and small farmers; they will settle for a trifle, and always be ready to leave off."[20] (Where should the crime be adjudicated?)

Aristotle states that the political orator must be concerned with the exhortation and dehortation of proposals. The political speaker is concerned with events which will occur in the future; of course, he may advise his listeners to accept or reject an intended proposal.[21]

Conjectural stasis in deliberative (political) oratory appears in these examples:

1. "In political speeches you may maintain that a proposal is impracticable . . ."[22] (Is there a problem?)

2. ". . . political orators often make any concession . . ."[23] (This is a quote out of context, but shows the political orator admitting that there is a problem.)

3. "Political speaking urges us either to do or not to do something; one of these two courses is always taken . . ."[24] (Will the proposal be expedient or harmful?)

Definitive stasis in political speech-making can be illustrated by examples:

1. "In political speeches you may maintain that . . ., though practicable, [the proposal] . . . is *unjust* [italics mine]."[25] (Is the label correct?)

2. "The political orator aims at establishing . . . whether the proposal is . . . honourable or dishonourable . . ."[26] (How can the aims of the proposal be defined?)

3. "Everyone will agree that by incontinent people we mean those who are not satisfied with the enjoyment of one love."[27] (This is an example which Aristotle draws from the *Alexander*. Again, there is a questioning of the definition of terms.)

Qualitative stasis is quite important to deliberative speech. Nadeau has said that ". . . the bulk of a deliberative argument is normally centered on qualitative evaluations."[28] The following examples will denote three of Aristotle's deliberative, qualitative stases:

1. "You [the political speaker] may accordingly have to . . . make the matter under discussion seem more or less important . . ."[29] (Is the issue big or small?)

2. "In political speeches you may maintain that a proposal . . . is not so important as its proposer thinks."[30] (What is the *degree* of importance?)

3. " . . . It often happens that people agree that two things are both useful but do not agree about which is the more so . . ."[31] (Is it useful or not useful; good or bad?)

Relative stasis, in political speaking can be seen in the following illustrations:

1. " . . . in political speaking . . . if you are the first speaker you should put your own arguments forward first, and then meet the arguments on the other side . . ."[32]

2. "If you speak later, you must first, by means of refutation and counter-syllogism, attempt some answer to your opponent's speech, especially if his arguments have been well received. "[33] (In this example the stasis is based again upon the location of the arguments.)

FOOTNOTES

[1]Quintilian *Inst.* iii. 6. 4.

[2]It should be noted that the subsequent clash of the cymbal is not stasis, but rather the result of stasis.

[3]Otti A. L. Dieter, "Stasis," *Speech Monographs,* XVII (November, 1950), p. 369.

[4]Ray Nadeau, "Hermogenes on Stock Issues," *Speech Monographs,* XXV (March, 1958), p. 59.

[5]*Inst.* iii. 6. 49.

[6]*Inst.* iii. 6. 80.

[7]Nadeau, *ip. cit.* p. 60.

[8]Dieter, *ou cit.* p. 348.

[9]Nadeau, *op. cit.*

[10]Aristotle, *Rhetoric,* trans, W. Rhys Roberts, in *The Basic Works of Aristotle,* ed. Richard McKeon (New York, 1941), 1417b. 24.

[11]*Rhet.* 1373b. 29.

[12]*Rhet.* 1358b. 30.

[13]*Rhet.* 1414b. 25.

[14]*Rhet.* 1374a. 3.

[15]*Rhet.* 1358b. 30.

[16]*Rhet.* 1417b. 26.

[17]*Rhet.* 1374. 24.

[18]*Rhet.* 1358b. 33.

[19]*Rhet.* 1416a. 31.

[20]*Rhet.* 1373a. 7.

[21]For a more extensive definition and explanation of political oratory, see the *Rhet.* 1358b. 21 ff.

[22]*Rhet.* 1417b. 35.

[23]*Rhet.* 1358b. 33.

[24]*Rhet.* 1358b. 8.

[25]*Rhet.* 1417b. 36.

[26]*Rhet.* 1358b. 22.

[27]*Rhet.* 1398a. 23.

[28]Nadeau, *op. cit.* p. 61.

[29]*Rhet.* 1415b. 36

[30]*Rhet.* 1417b. 36

[31]*Rhet.* 1363b. 5.

[32]*Rhet.* 1418b. 6.

[33]*Rhet.* 1418b. 10.

Stevenson: The 1956 Campaign

Raymond Yeager
Bowling Green State University

Adlai Stevenson's speech strategy in the 1956 campaign was radically different from his 1952 approach. How Stevenson conducted his second campaign and why it failed is the subject of this article. The author wrote his dissertation on the 1952 campaign, and in 1956 traveled with Stevenson on his Ohio tour.

The Strategy

In examining the election results of 1952, Adlai Stevenson and his advisers found several factors which they considered important to overcome in the 1956 campaign. (1) Stevenson had been charged with speaking over the heads of his hearers; (2) he had not closely identified himself with the Democratic party; (3) his campaign was run by amateurs; and (4) one out of every four Democrats had defected from the party.

Although Stevenson denies that he spoke over the heads of his listeners, my analysis of his 1952 speeches[1] revealed that he primarily addressed himself to the educated voter. This was particularly apparent when he discussed predetermined issues. In the last month of that campaign, he changed his tactics and took a more down-to-earth approach, appealing to the basic self-interests of his hearers.

Stevenson also denies that he changed his style in adapting his 1956 speeches to his audiences. However, there is definite evidence that as a general rule both the subjects of his speeches and his approach to them were chosen with the mass of voters in mind. Many of Stevenson's speeches in the second campaign centered on such mundane but important topics as wages, prices, jobs, and security. Rather than addressing his ideas to the educated voter, Stevenson tried to talk to the common man. He reserved a new device — the position paper — for the intellectuals and independents. Stevenson's change in style was one major difference in his two presidential campaigns.

In 1952 Stevenson deliberately tried to disassociate himself from the Truman administration. He thus offered himself as the answer to the change so many people seemed to want. Although there was much to be said for Stevenson's position, there were many observers who believed that he lost the enthusiastic support of Democratic leaders and party workers. By posing as an independent, not tied to anyone's apron strings, he gained the adulation and respect of many Americans, but he failed to gain votes.

In 1956 Stevenson determined to work with and for his party. Indeed, he strove valiantly from 1952 on to mend and strengthen the

party. The success of Stevenson's attention to party matters was demonstrated by his strength during the nominating convention. In 1956 Stevenson ran on his party's ticket as a *Democrat,* pledged to work for Democratic principles and ideas. This was also a major change from 1952.

Stevenson was a truly reluctant candidate chosen against his will in 1952,[2] and he placed his well-meaning but politically inexperienced friends in charge of his campaign. In 1956 the amateurs were replaced by professionals. For example, Stevenson chose James Finnegan as his campaign manager. Finnegan, a former mayor of Philadelphia, was an acknowledged expert in politics and was himself a successful politician. His accurate card files on party leaders and 1956 convention delegates amazed everyone. In general, the other positions of responsibility went to professional politicians. Stevenson also placed his speech writing in the hands of just a few more or less professional writers, and did not accept the help of the many volunteers who plagued him in 1952. This change to professionalism was a third major difference in the two campaigns.

Analyses of the 1952 campaign revealed that one out of every four Democrats deserted the party to vote for Eisenhower. Political analysists also found that one-third of the sampled electorate split their ballots, indicating that the trend away from the Democratic party was not deepseated.[3] Stevenson and his advisers, therefore, determined that if the defecting Democrats could be induced to return to the fold, the party would win. The 1954 congressional election seemed to substantiate this theory. In 1956 Stevenson directed most of his appeals to dissident voters, trying to woo Democrats, not just intellectuals. This was the fourth major change in his campaign tactics.

Speech Preparation

Stevenson was admired in his first campaign because he had such a large share in the speech writing process. No other presidential candidate, winning or losing, ever had a collection of his campaign speeches get on the best selling list.[4] But where Stevenson spent much of his time in 1952 lovingly polishing the final drafts of his speeches, this campaign he devoted less time to speech writing and more to talking with the local party leaders who met him at every stop. The result is that the campaign speeches of 1956 are not in the same literary class as those of 1952; yet they are still better, in the main, than the political oratory to which we have become accustomed.

The major writers for Stevenson in 1952 composed his research team in 1956 with one exception. David G. Bell, administrative aide to President Truman, did not serve in 1956, and William B. Miller of *The Reporter Magazine* was added to the team. Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., headed both groups. W. Willard Wirtz, Stevenson's law partner and former member of the War Labor Board, remained on the team, as well as Robert W. Tufts, economist at Oberlin College and former member of the Department of State.[5]

Among the many volunteers who contributed ideas, phraseology and facts for the 1952 speeches were the poet, Archibald MacLeish; the historian, Bernard Devoto; Harvard economist, J. Kenneth Galbraith; Samuel Rosenman, Roosevelt's chief writer; the playwright, Robert Sherwood; and James Weschsler, editor of the New York *Post.*[6]

Stevenson was beseiged by what seemed like hundreds of people who wanted to have a part in writing his 1952 speeches. All this was

changed in 1956. Stevenson had maintained two headquarters in 1952: a national one in Washington, D.C., which he seldom visited; and a headquarters in Springfield, Illinois, for his research team and amateur advisers. Much confusion, friction, and lack of over-all control necessarily resulted. In 1956 Stevenson disposed of this two-headed monster and centralized his operations in Washington. Volunteer speech writers were politely but firmly discouraged.

The research team advised the Democratic nominee on points of policy, suggested issues, secured factual data, drew up outlines of proposed speeches, analyzed the opposition's speeches and refuted their arguments. At times, the drafts they prepared were fragmentary, and at other times complete speeches were submitted. Stevenson always re-wrote the drafts, rephrasing, cutting or elaborating. At times his final draft looked little like the original. Stevenson writes in long hand with a pencil and yellow legal paper, and his tools include a pair of scissors, a pastepot, and a black notebook of anecdotes he has collected through the years.[7]

Invention

Stevenson made an effort in 1952 of trying to use only one subject per speech. He succeeded admirably, and as a consequence, his speeches of that year stand head and shoulders above those of his opponent. In 1956 Stevenson did not follow the plan as closely, and many of his speeches contain points that are rehashes of his previous addresses. Yet there are pleasing exceptions, as, for example, his discussion of the hydrogen bomb.

The subject of the H-bomb was used over the violent objections of his advisers and research team. Robert Tufts told me[8] that Stevenson would not listen, and insisted upon stressing his proposal for discontinuing the testing of the bomb. Stevenson's insistence upon speaking on subjects of national concern and taking the side he believed right, even though it was not popular, was the keynote of his first campaign. It won for him the admiration of the independents and the respect of all Americans.

But Stevenson did little, too little, I believe, of this type of campaigning in 1956. He tended to hedge, to equivocate, for fear of losing votes. He became a "practical" man. For example, after a brilliant announcement to the American Legion in Los Angeles that he foresaw the end of the draft, Stevenson later backtracked, saying that the end would come some time in the future when the world situation eased. Again, he spoke frankly and fearlessly on the subject of integration in the southern state of Arkansas, but afterward took pains not to offend the southern white vote. In contrast, the Stevenson of 1952 took a firm stand for integration in speaking to both northern negroes and southern whites.

Although the majority of Stevenson's 1956 speeches were aimed at the common man and dealt with "pocket-book" appeals, the independent and/or intellectual voter was not forgotten. At infrequent intervals, Stevenson issued position papers on issues that he believed were important — federal aid to education, the problem of the nation's health, and others. The papers caused some stir among university circles and editorial writers, but had little influence on the mass of voters. Indeed, Stevenson's research team wondered if they had *any* effect on the group for which they were intended, since there was little of the popular response that occurred among intellectuals in 1952.

Stevenson's speeches are consistently strong in ethical proof. One major change from 1952 is that there is less stress on character. Where Stevenson had to demonstrate his qualification to speak in the first campaign, since he was less well known than his opponent, in 1956 his character was already established. Ethical proof revealing Stevenson's intelligence was also not as much in evidence. I believe this is due to the fact that the second campaign contained few high level speeches dealing with principles and policies.

Stevenson excels in gaining the good will of his hearers. His introductions, with the exception of his televised addresses, are long, folksy approaches specifically designed to gain rapport. Stevenson told me[9] that he deliberately employs anecdotes to secure good will. He used more anecdotes this campaign and fewer references to kinship with local people. Satire was also evident, although it was not as biting as in 1952. At Toledo, for example, Stevenson replied to Eisenhower's appeal not to turn back the hands of the clock with this bit of satire: "It has been four years since the clock was wound!"

Governor Stevenson employed more emotional proof in his 1952 campaign than is generally known. Because his appeals were to the higher order of emotions — justice, honor, nobility — they were not recognized as such by his hearers. Stevenson also employed appeals to the stronger, more base emotions — fear, anger, personal gain — in the last month of his first campaign, but they were generally more restrained.

In 1956 the Democratic nominee made a definite attempt to bring his emotional proof down to a more generally recognizable level — a level which is said to be more effective. Talking in terms of the problems of the farmer, wage earner, and small business man, he made appeals to self-preservation, the desire for property, protection of others, and to the emotions of anger, fear and resentment. The student of public address analyzing the 1956 campaign will find strong emotional proof in Stevenson's speeches. Yet I believe that it had, in the long run, little more effect than his appeals to the higher order of emotions in 1952. Emotional proof helped to "sell" the Democratic party to the voters in 1956, but it did not "sell" Adlai Stevenson.

One dissertation analyzing Stevenson's 1952 speeches concluded that little logical proof was employed, for the speeches lacked adequate statistics and statements from authority. That particular writer will be happy to note that the Governor employed statistics and testimony to a greater extent this time. In my own study of the 1952 campaign, I disagreed with the other gentleman. I found that Stevenson used excellent logical proof if we follow Aristotle's dictum that "whenever men in speaking effect persuasion through proofs, they do so either with examples or enthymemes; they use nothing else."[10]

Stevenson's speeches abound in artistic proof. Indeed, this is one of the best features of his oratory. In 1952, the Governor supported many of his arguments with examples drawn from historical parallels, and with invented parallels which take the form of comparisons. Stevenson also supported his arguments with enthymemes, utilizing demonstrative enthymemes to strengthen his own reasoning and refutative enthymemes to reply to his opponent's argument.

In 1956, the Democratic nominee relied more on inartistic and less on artistic proof in many of his speeches. However, artistic proof

was not neglected. Several of Stevenson's better speeches, such as those dealing with the H-bomb, are strong in artistic support. One form of artistic proof in which he excels, and which appeared in both campaigns, is the maxim. Stevenson has a special knack for the maxim, following up his discussion of an idea by succinctly stating a moral which neatly ties his argument together. These maxims are little gems of his philosophy, and they have on occasion been picked up and quoted by others — the kind of thing that happened to Abraham Lincoln's maxims. One of Stevenson's best was delivered in 1952, and gave in a nutshell his definition of democracy: "A free society is a society where it is safe to be unpopular."

I cannot leave a discussion of Stevenson's invention without mentioning another phase of it — humor. There was much ado about campaign humor in 1952. Little comment was heard about it in 1956, yet Stevenson continued using humor. One reason might be that we have become acclimated to campaign humor — at least as far as Stevenson is concerned. I offer a second reason — there was a change in the type of humor he employed.

Stevenson utilized three types of humor in 1952: the folksy anecdote; biting satire; and the *bon mot*. In 1956 he continued and expanded his use of anecdotes. However, Stevenson toned down his satire, and this eliminated the controversy, for it was the satire to which the Republicans objected in 1952.

The *bon mot* is the highest form of humor, and, I might add, the most difficult. It is a partial maxim, based on a disjointed or incomplete enthymeme. I offer the following example of Stevenson's felicity for the *bon mot*: "Socrates said the unexamined life is not worth living. We may say that the unexamined government is not worth having." The ability to state a *bon mot* at the right time is a mark of the peculiar cast of the Stevenson genius.

Delivery

Dependence upon a manuscript has detracted considerably from Stevenson's delivery. He told me in 1955 that his eyes are weak, and, he feared, they are growing weaker. He underscores key words that he wishes to emphasize in his manuscript, but he confessed that the underscored words were all he could see at times.

Stevenson fumbles much more than in 1952, and he ad libs more than he used to. In televised appearances, he revealed his annoyance with minor distractions attendant with the stylized format employed by the Democratic National Committee.

Stevenson has tried to inject more of his personality into his delivery since 1952. He was more relaxed in his personal appearances this campaign. During "whistle-stop" speeches, he seemed to enjoy the speaker-audience relationship. Without the pressure of a campaign, his personality comes through better, but on television he is stiff and formal despite his many years of experience with the medium.

Stevenson tries to adapt the introduction to his immediate audience, but he fails to continue the practice throughout the rest of the speech. The point was rather forcibly brought home to me during one speech I attended.[11] Speaking on federal aid to education, Stevenson held the audience throughout his introduction, for they were laughing and applauding. His manuscript was pratically ignored. Turning to the subject, he became very serious and started reading his manuscript. Toward the end of the speech, one of

Stevenson's campaign secretaries whispered to me, "Sounds awfully stuffy and educated, doesn't he?" The young lady's charge was true, for Stevenson makes a great distinction between the light-heartedness of an introduction and the deadly seriousness of his subject-matter. In developing his discussion, he frequently ignores his immediate audience.

Analysis

Whether Stevenson could have won the election in 1956 if the Middle East crisis had not arisen will never be conclusively determined. It is established that a definite swing to the Democratic party was in the making, and the election result bore out the success of the party in congressional races. The presidential election looked close in October.

Early in the campaign, there were a large number of what pollsters refer to as "silent" voters. The number appeared to be larger than in 1952. If this "silent" vote was Republican and stayed at home on election day, Stevenson might have won as Harry Truman did in 1948.

While some people who had voted for Eisenhower in 1952 were switching to Stevenson, a larger number refused to commit themselves. Attending the President's address in Cleveland on October 1, and sampling opinion in northern Ohio, I detected a large reservoir of good feeling toward Eisenhower. A goodly number of negroes were present, and I reported at the time that it appeared significant. The city and county Democratic leaders I interviewed predicted gains for the Democrats, but curiously, none of them seemed enthusiastic about Stevenson. Whenever I inquired about Stevenson's chances in their particular areas, I invariably received a stock, non-committal reply, "About as well as last time."

The newspapers caught the same discrepancy and reported that the Democratic nominee was running behind his party. There was a distinct lack of enthusiasm for Stevenson this time. With the possible exception of the scientists who supported him on the H-bomb issue, no important segment of the electorate came out for Stevenson with the fervor and adulation of 1952.

Stevenson's audiences were generally larger, friendlier, and more enthusiastic than in 1952, but firm conviction was missing. An example of his speech in Flint, Michigan, may illustrate what was occurring. Stevenson spoke in Memorial Hall before 2,400 fellow Democrats on a subject which should have had great audience appeal — an attack on Richard Nixon. While there was generous applause throughout the speech, it was not the great outburst of wild enthusiasm one might normally expect in such a partisan setting. The press corps wondered at the time why the speech was not better received.[12] The election returns may have the answer. Flint, a labor stronghold, went Republican for the first time since the depression.

Why did Stevenson lose this time? There are, of course, many reasons. First, Stevenson became too much identified as a party man. Many of those who favored the Democratic nominee in 1952 did so because of his stand as an American, not as a Democrat. Running as a Democrat in 1956, Stevenson lost the appeal which endeared him to so many in the first campaign. Party identification helped destroy Stevenson's vote-getting ability.

Second, even though Stevenson worked hard for his party, the party did not work for him. The workers and leaders in the grass-roots did not try to engender any great enthusiasm for their candi-

date. There were persistent reports, for example, that such powerful men as Carmine De Sapio exerted a minimum of effort on Stevenson's behalf.

Third, the electorate maintained its great affection for and trust in Eisenhower. While the people may have distrusted the men around the President, they could not bring themselves to vote against the man who was still a great popular hero.

Fourth, the Democrats misjudged the temper of the negroes. While both party platforms were nebulous on the subject, Eisenhower received credit for integration in the armed services and for the Supreme Court's decision on integration in the public schools. Stevenson failed to take a firm stand on the subject, trying to keep harmony in his party. If he had taken the same forthright position favoring integration as he had in 1952, he might not have lost that extra ten per cent of the negro vote.

Fifth, and most important, the Middle East crisis settled the election so that issues and personalities were no longer important in the presidential race. Although Stevenson privately conceded defeat, he continued the campaign through its closing days. What else could he do?

In two presidential campaigns, Adlai Stevenson has amply demonstrated that he is a first rank philosopher and writer. He is also a fair speaker, but it is his ideas that have done so much to place his name before the world. Between the years of 1952 and 1956, he matured and developed so that we see in Stevenson the emergence of a statesman. If there is to be no political future for Adlai Stevenson, he can offer the nation his wisdom and counsel in the role of statesman.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Raymond Yeager, "A Rhetorical analysis of the 1952 Presidential Campaign Speeches of Adlai Ewing Stevenson," unpublished doctoral dissertation, The Ohio State University, 1956.

[2]See Walter Johnson, *How We Drafted Adlai Stevenson*, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1955), 172 pp.; and, Jake Arvey and John Radigan, "The Reluctant Candidate — An Inside Story," *The Reporter*, IX (November 24, 1953), pp. 19-26.

[3]See, Angus Campbell, Gerald Currin, and Warren E. Miller, *The Voter Decides* (Evanston: Roe, Peterson and Company, 1954), 242 pp.; Louis Harris, *Is There A Republican Majority?* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1954), 231 pp.; and, Samuel Lubell, *The Future of American Politics* (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1956), 297 pp.

[4]Fourth on the non-fiction list, *The New York Times Magazine*, May 31, 1953. p. 8.

[5]Interviews with Robert W. Tufts, June 13, 1955 and October 9, 1956.

[6]"Stevenson's Ghost Writers," *U.S. News and World Report*, XXXIII (September, 26, 1952), p. 57.

[7]John Bartlow Martin, *Adlai Stevenson* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1952) p. 110.

[8]Interview, October 9, 1956.

[9]Interview, June 13, 1955.

[10]*Rhetoric*, 1356a, lines 68-70.

[11]Elyria, Ohio, October 9, 1956.

[12]Interviews in the press car, Stevenson campaign train, October 9, 1956.

The Classical Origins of Debate

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Classical debate involves orderliness and freedom of speech. There are debates in Homer, the earliest surviving Greek author. The debates in Thucydides, Demosthenes, and the reported Roman debates in the handbook of Seneca the Elder turn upon issues of freedom of speech which are not without relevance for our time; even in a time of absolutism Roman orators kept the spark of freedom alive.

Editor's Note: The following manuscript is of a speech given by MacKendrick on May 15, 1960, for the Annual Spring Forensic Banquet at the University of Wisconsin.

I come before you tonight with singular qualifications: I am probably the only Professor of Classics in America who has also been coach of a debate team that lost seven times in seven starts. After that I was benched, but, either because I'm always hoping to find out how you win, or on the principle that those who can, do; those who can't, teach, I still retain my interest in the subject, and give courses in Demosthenes in Greek and Cicero in Latin.

Classical d e b a t e, in council, court, or classroom, was based on fundamental convictions about the essential goodness of two things: orderlines and freedom of speech. The former has gone out of fashion nowadays; hence the prevalence of gobbledegook in the *Congressional Record* and in textbooks, and incoherence in speeches in student senate or faculty meetings. It is good to be addressing an audience who will join me in deploring this disorder — and on a high level. But another lesson of ancient rhetoric is that when disorder comes in at the door, freedom of speech often goes out of the window. The periods of decline of ancient eloquence are also the periods of decline of free institutions. This observation seems to me to be not without relevance for our own time.

The Greeks have always been great talkers. Debate is as old as the language itself. Three great scenes of debate are central in the *Iliad,* and in the very first of them the issue of freedom of speech is joined — and freedom of speech for the Common Man. The point of issue is one close to a soldier's heart, demobilization after nine long years of war. Homer has to sing for his supper in the halls of nobles, so the presentation is unsympathetic, and the commoner therefore is beaten in the debate, literally as well as figuratively, but, behind the ugliness and the blustering attributed to him, one can

see what are to become the virtues of Athenian democratic oratory: fluency, impatience with authority, a sense of humor, the ability to arouse sympathy.

In the second debate, too, the decision goes against the debaters, whose aim is to persuade Achilles to renounce his wrath, reenter the battle, gain the victory over Hector. They fail, but for our purposes that is not the point. The point is two-pronged; on the one hand, the debate shows the interest taken by Homer and his audience in the art of rhetoric: a whole central book developed to three pairs of speeches, planned and delivered with great sophistication; on the other, the importance of the consequences: precisely because persuasion fails, violence is the alternative; it takes the death of his friend Patroclus, fighting *his* battle in his armor, to move Achilles to enter the battle and slay Hector.

And in the end, rhetoric prevails, and makes the final point in the epic: the rhetoric of old Priam, *persuading* Achilles to let his son Hector's body be ransomed. Achilles at last has become mature enough to listen to the voice of reason. It might be argued that in a sense the whole point of the poem is that a culture is not grown up until it can settle its problems not by fighting over them, but by talking them out. Here is something of which this audience may well be proud; in the first, and, in the opinion of many, the greatest monument in the intellectual history of western man, a central point is the primary of Speech.

The Homeric tradition, and with it the tradition of rhetorical debate, was especially treasured in Athens. When Athens beat the menace of Persia, emerging from behind an Iron Curtain to the East, it was the common men at the oar in the battle of Salamis who won the victory. They and their champions needed the utmost resources of the art of debate, in the assembly, the senate, the law-courts, to defend their rights against the aristocrats. The aristocrats equally needed the craft of rhetoric to defend their privileges against the claims of the common man. This was the Great Debate of the Periclean Age, and we can see it fought out in the pages of the historian Thucydides. In the work of this genius, perhaps the greatest of all the ancient historians, the c r u c i a l points are marked by debate. He intended his history as a handbook for statesmen. Since politics is the science of power and its control, the debate, for Thucydides, is over the rival claims of Might and Right. Right for Thucydides is represented by Pericles, into whose mouth he puts the most eloquent speech about democracy ever uttered. With Pericles' death, the partisans of Might come into power. Unfortunately, they too, then as they are still, were trained in rhetoric. Thucydides puts into the mouths of Athenian envoys, offering to the helpless islanders of Melos the alternatives of surrender or death, a cynical series of arguments for the claims of Might; ending with wholesale murder. This is not *ancient* history, it is the Nazis in Prague, the Russians in Budapest, totalitarianism anywhere, putting its trust in the mailed fist instead of the conference table. To his compatriots Thucydides offers a bitter consolation: these same Athenians, who, abandoning debate, turned to force, were overpowered by a greater force in a battle in Syracuse harbor, and, pitilessly imprisoned under an August sun in the Sicilian stone quarries, could ponder at their leisure, until death came, the truth or falsity of their arguments for Might over Right.

And so Athens fell, and the measured tread of the Spartan occupa-

tion force drowned out the sound of debate in the impotent assembly. In time Athens recovered, and the recovery is marked by the voice of debate loud and clear again, this time the voice of Demosthenes, like Clemenceau, like Churchill, debating the issue of a courageous stand, against Aeschines and the partisans of appeasement with Macedon. Demosthenes won the debate; the forces were put in the field, but they were too little and too late; Athens lost. But Demosthenes' friends were loyal: they sponsored a motion to grant him a gold crown for services to his country. Aeschines indicts the chief sponsor of the motion for illegality; Demosthenes spoke for his friend. Both speeches survive in this last great debate of free Athens. Demosthenes' speech, this last manifesto of free Athens, lasted over three hours, and has ever since stood as a model of rhetorical form. After a masterly exordium in which he stresses his constant loyalty to Athenian democratic principles, he first disposes of the charges foreign to the indictment, seizing the opportunity to defend his public policy, of warning, vigilance, action. Then he passes to the indictment itself, showing how mean and pettifogging it is, and no wonder, considering the life and character of the pompous, slandering puppy who made it. (No holds were barred in ancient forensic oratory, and Demosthenes' command of invective is unrivalled). Contrasting his policy with Aeschines', he makes his famous eloquent appeal to his judges in the name of the patriots who fought at Marathon and Salamis: the point is not their victory but their defense of freedom. Demosthenes won his crown, but Athens lost her freedom. A Macedonian garrison staged unspeakable orgies on the Acropolis, and the voice of Athenian eloquence was stilled forever — except as it has echoed in the hearts of fighters for freedom ever since.

Some of those fighters for freedom were Romans. The great age of Roman eloquence is the century of revolution from 133 to 31 B.C., when the Roman Senate rang with many a debate between right wing and left. The left wing speeches almost never survive, and we have no full record of any pair of actual Roman speeches on both sides of a question: we have Cicero *against* Catiline and *against* Antony (fourteen *Philippics,* named after some speeches of Demosthenes) but the speeches *for* Catiline and Antony have perished. Cicero perished too, by violence, for the century of eloquence was also the century of bloodbath. The Romans learned eloquence from the Greeks: they failed to learn from them that the death of eloquence is the death of freedom. Cicero's head and hands were nailed to the Rostra which had so often echoed to his oratory. The date was the seventh of December — a date that will live in infamy — 43 B.C. It marked the end of the Roman Republic, and the end of freedom of speech; henceforward Rome marches down the road to absolutism.

Roman history records the names of some who threw roadblocks across the line of that march. In a Senate which rapidly became the Emperor's rubber stamp, debate was a mockery, but there was still need for trained lawyers, and for rhetorical schools to train them. Modern handbooks portray these schools as decadent, as stressing form above content, as training orators for an age when oratory had no scope. At this judgment it will be worth taking another look.

We possess a stout volume of samples of the eloquence of these debating schools, collected by the

prodigious memory of the elder Seneca (*ca.* 55 B. C. - *ca.* A. D. 38) who after one hearing could repeat, in order, a list of 2000 names. By the time he came to maturity, Augustus, who had had Cicero murdered, was in power: the point has been made, uttering *Philippics* was unhealthy. Seneca lived out his old age under Tiberius, whom Tacitus pictures as a suspicious, brooding tyrant, countenancing the reports of informers and the burning of books. It was under these reigns that the examples of rhetoric recorded by Seneca were delivered.

The samples are of two kinds, *Controversiae* and *Suasoriae*. *Controversiae* are the speeches on both sides, and rebuttals, of hypothetical cases; *Suasoriae* are speeches of advice to historical characters at moments of decision. Besides the speeches, Seneca records the subdivisions of the argument made by famous orators, and the *colores*, or clever psychological twists, that they used.

Thirty five *Controversiae* survive in full, others in abstracts; they are usually illustrated by examples like the following: A brother who has slain one of his brothers for being a tyrant and another whom he caught committing adultery with his wife, is captured by pirates, and writes to his father for ransom; his father writes to the pirates promising double the amount of the ransom if they will cut off his son's hands. Instead, the pirates release their prisoner. The father falls into poverty; the son refuses to support him. *Write the speeches for and against the son.* The case seems *far-fetched*, and it is true that one of the *colores* seems ridiculous—or is it rather ironic? It supposes a misprint in the father's letter; what he acutally offered double ransom for was *not* cutting his son's hands off. But there is a point or two on the speeches that may not be so academic. In a speech for the son, acquittal is demanded on the ground that he has slain a tyrant; let the father but let it be known that his son is the tyrant-slayer, and he will never lack for bread.

Of the thirty five *Controversiae*, seven turn upon the crimes of tyrants: they are sadists, adulterers, violaters of virgins, murderers, temple-robbers, debauchers, surrounded by assassins and poisoners, they arrogantly set their statues among the gods. Such monsters it is a virtue to kill. Of the seven *Suasoriae*, two contain advice to Cicero, not to knuckle under to Antony, not to agree to Antony's proposal: to *burn the books* Cicero had written, but to spare his life. Seneca records that in these *Suasoriae* there were few or none who spoke for surrender; they held (and who knew better) that life without liberty was living death.

Of the crimes alleged in the *Controversiae* against tyrants, there was not one which was not actually committed by one or another of the Emperors: Caesar debauched young Mitheridates of Pontus; his soldiers used to sing "Husbands, hide your wives; here comes the bald adulterer"; he robbed the temple of Saturn to finance the Civil War; Augustus let himself be worshipped as a god; Tiberius was surrounded by assassins and poisoners, and, like Antony in the *Suasoriae*, was a notorious burner of books. When Cicero wrote of the sword of Damocles that hangs ever suspended over the head of a tyrant, the context shows that the tyrant he means is no Sicilian Greek; it is Julius Caesar.

A generation ago, with tyranny not a clear and present danger, it was easy to dismiss the *Controversiae* and the *Suasoriae* as empty school exercises; now, with half the world enslaved, we know that in the face of efficient tyranny, a gesture is sometimes all a brave man

can manage. When the French in occupied Paris staged *Antigone and the Tyrant,* it looked to the Germans like an academic exercise, a typically empty French classical gesture; to freemen everywhere, the play was a symbol, of the deathlessness of freedom wherever rhetoric is alive, "to make a laughing stock," as Tacitus says, "of stupid men who think tyranny now can erase the record of history hereafter." Seneca wrote his book for his sons: to at least one of them, Seneca the Philosopher, it must have meant more than empty rhetorical exercise; as tutor to a tyrant (Nero) the younger Seneca contrived to hold his charge in check for five years of good government; as victim of that same tyrant he met his death like a man, and so did many another trained in that same allegedly empty rhetorical school. For eighteen hundred years afterward, the rhetoric did not seem empty, nor the suicides in vain; they were gestures of free men in a world ground down.

This was the heritage of the men who made our Revolution. When Princeton debated in 1768 whether "it was lawful for every man, and in many cases his indispensable duty, to hazard his life in defense of his civil liberty," it was a rhetorical exercise, but some of the young men who argued the question were defending their civil liberty with arms against King George eight years later.

There is one other point to make before I close, and that is that forensics is not incompatible with sense of humor, and that wit upon the debating floor is not incompatible with seriousness later in a life of action. When Yale debated in 1782 "whether the Company of Ladies of riotous character is disadvantageous to a person in his Studies or not," I doubt whether the treatment was as solemn as the topic sounds. Some of those who took the affirmative in the Oxford Union in the '30's on the resolution "that this House will under no circumstances fight for King and Country" gave their lives at Dunkirk. My own Oxford College Debating Society's minutes show that it last year debated the question whether this house was of ill-repute; agreed, in international politics, to stall between two fools, and was in two minds whether it would rather have won the Battle of Waterloo than fought upon the playing fields of Eton. To have indulged in these rhetorical exercises will prove to have done no harm to young men with brilliant careers before them, in diplomacy, the Civil Service, education, business, and the Church.

Knowing what I do about the classical origins of debate, I am delighted too with the evidence that I see before me that the reports of the demise of Forensics are so very much exaggerated. I salute in you the lively heirs of a great tradition, who know that a good speech is a work of art and that a work of art has a vertebrate structure, with a beginning, a middle, and an end. You know, too, that the tradition of debate is the tradition of freedom, and that never has it needed more eloquent defenders than today. I salute you, then, in the words of that master of forensics, Pericles: "Knowing freedom to be happiness, and courage the creator of freedom, let us fear no risks, but rival what these men have done."

Toward A Point of View for Contest Debate

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In recent years contest debating has found itself in a defensive posture largely because it has accepted the premises of its critics. Some of these premises are examined here and some elements for a possible philosophy of debate are suggested.

In the Autumn, 1959, issue of *Central States Speech Journal*, Mr. Robert L. Smith published the latest in a long series of articles which aim to improve the quality of speech instruction in our high schools and colleges by overhauling the philosophy and practice of contest debating.[1] Many of the concrete recommendations in these articles, such as Mr. Smith's proposal to place greater emphasis upon *public* speaking in the NFL's point system, make very good sense, indeed.

On the other hand, most of these proposals appear to arise out of a view of the nature and purpose of competition debating which has received too little scrutiny. Because this point of view is coming to dominate published thought on the subject, and indeed has acquired a certain status value, and because this writer feels that too little has been said about the basic nature of debating in these articles, it is the purpose of this paper to examine some of the fundamental assumptions upon which modern criticisms of contest debate seem to be based. Five propositions and their consequents are examined here. They are the assumptions that: (1) training in citizenship should be the overriding objective of debate programs; (2) training in debate is primarily training in public speaking; (3) training in debate is primarily training in persuasion; (4) the decision is an unnecessary appendage to the debating process; and (5) any activity in which students engage largely out of sporting motives is unworthy.

Perhaps the most fundamental error made by debate's modern critics is the assumption that debate can be, in the fullest and broadest sense of the term, training in democratic participation, and that such training should be its major objective. This leads to the corollary assumption that debates and debaters may be judged according to all of the contemporary standards of ideal citizenship.[2]

Certainly, if any one type of activity could characterize the democratic process, that activity would be public debate; but even this falls far short of the mark. Debate and democracy share the employment of techniques of argumentation, but the fact remains that the only adequate preparation for democratic life is a full and liberal education. Training in debate is unquestionably a part of that — a much larger part than is generally recognized — but it is not the whole of it by far. If we accept this

as true, then we also must agree that a greater number of considerations are involved in judging one's citizenship than are involved in judging his debating.

Much confusion arises over the fact that these considerations frequently coincide with one another. Thus, sarcasm and ridicule represent bad debating as much as they represent bad citizenship, but they are not bad debating *because* they are bad citizenship. *Argumentum ad hominem* is poor citizenship for a variety of reasons, most of them having to do with the kinds of attitudes demanded of the mature citizen. On the other hand, such argument is bad debating because it is always irrelevant to the specific proposition under consideration. From a tactical point of view irrelevant arguments are a waste of time, from a logical point of view they represent poor invention, and from an ethical point of view they represent an attempt to win agreement on unrelated grounds, which is one thin cut above a lie. Thus, *argumentum ad hominem* is bad debating because it violates the tactics, logic, and ethics *of sound argumentation,* not because it violates principles of good citizenship. To the extent that good citizenship requires sound argumentation, the values of argument become the values of citizenship; but it does not follow that all of the values of citizenship are relevant to judging the merits of a given sample of argument, nor does it follow that programs of debate should be oriented toward those values of citizenship which are extrinsic to argument.

The second error made by those who criticize the practice of contest debate lies in the occasionally-stated but generally implied assumption that debate is primarily training in public speaking.

Doubtless this misconception arises from the fact that debates are generally conducted orally nowadays. Actually, though the nature of what one learned would be somewhat different, a part-time job selling encyclopedias door-to-door or a summer spent as an apprentice circus-barker would develop general public speaking ability almost as much as a season of high school debating.

Basically, debate is training in reasoned argument. When the argument is carried on orally, then a certain amount of training in delivery, oral language, and speech composition must accompany the debater's training, just as it would be necessary to offer training in punctuation, written style, and theme-construction if the debates were carried on in print. But the principal thing a student debater should gain from his experience is the ability to generate a well-knit and carefully reasoned set of arguments supporting a proposition of some importance, and to defend these arguments against determined opposition on short notice. He should learn reasoning and research as these activities relate to real problems of broad social significance. This is eminently worth learning, and justifies the expenditure of several times what we presently spend in time and money on debate programs. But it does not necessarily result in excellent speaking. If the student develops more than moderate skill in non-argumentative speaking as a by-product of his training in debate, then the investment pays a handsome extra dividend.

But one often hears it said that debate as presently constituted actually impairs public speaking ability by causing some students to develop idiosyncratic modes of delivery, especially the "machine-gun" or "chatterbox" syndrome characterized by uniform quantity, highly patterned stress, and rapid rate. The critics envision great

hordes of ex-debaters, marred for life, chattering their stilted way through adulthood, alienating audiences, losing votes, emptying pews, and generally reflecting ill-fame upon their coaches and the schools of speech which produced them.

Yet one never hears an adult speaker display the odd vocal pattern occasionally heard in debate. What happens to all of the old debaters? Perhaps there is some quiet place to which most of them fade away after retiring from the lists; but I have heard a few speak in later life. Invariably their sermons, lectures, campaign speeches, and jury summations have displayed good delivery. When I have now and then heard the expression, "I'll bet you were a debater . . .", it has always been offered in admiration. I have never seen any evidence to show that the odd mannerisms observed in contest debate persist in later speaking experiences.

I submit the hypothesis that "debater's delivery" results primarily from the fact that debates are conducted within rather rigid time limits and secondarily from the fact that in the course of debating a single proposition throughout a season a debater must handle a central core of arguments a fairly large number of times. Debaters certainly do not develop these habits because they are being judged, because they are participating in a tournament, or because their coaches place undue emphasis on winning.

It would, of course, be possible to remove the time limits, to argue a different proposition in each debate, and to hold all events before audiences, thus laying the groundwork for an improvement in speaking. If debate were primarily training in public speaking, this course of action would be entirely appropriate. However, debating is primarily training in a certain type of rather rigorous intellectual activity, and any of the above courses of action would seriously impair the intellectual calibre of the activity; for the time limit imposes the requirement of selection and parsimony, dispensing with the audience is the only course of action which will permit a number of trials against varying opposition cases, and the focus on a single problem over a season places a premium upon accuracy of statement, breadth of research, and depth of analysis. In the sort of activity which contest debating represents, these are greater values than elegance of composition or grace of delivery.

This contrast of values may perhaps best be seen in the differences often observed between British and American college debaters. Nobody who has ever seen a British team in action against an American counterpart could doubt the superiority of the former in wit, style, audience adaptation, and other aspects of general speaking ability. The superior ability of the British teams to win favorable audience response has been made the subject of invidious comparisons.[3] However, the visiting British teams always debate before audiences in this country. One wonders what would happen to them in a tournament situation, where rigor of argument rather than wit and charm are the touchstones of effectiveness.

This writer agrees with Nobles and Cohen that tournament debating and audience-oriented forensic activities can and should exist side by side in a complete *forensics* program, without for a moment subscribing to the view that tournament experience serves primarily as a "laboratory" for more "realistic" public appearances which presumably will follow when the student has developed basic skills.[4] Tournament debating serves best as a

laboratory for argumentation, not speaking.

A third assumption, closely related to the argument that debate is training in public speaking, is the premise that debate is primarily training in persuasion. Just as debate contributes specialized skills for the citizen and for the public speaker, so does it contribute particular skills to the persuader; but the essence of debating is not persuasion any more than it is citizenship or public speaking. According to Ehninger, the primary difference between persuasion and debate is that persuasion is propagation while debate is investigation.[5] The persuader, if given a choice, would prefer that his opposition not be heard; the debater not only insists that his opposition be heard, but prefers to meet his opposition face-to-face. The structured, issue-by-issue criticism which results from the direct temporal opposition of cases restricts the opportunities for persuasion, entirely invalidating some persuasive techniques and drastically reducing the scope of others.

No doubt strong persuasive efforts must be based upon sound logical analyses, and to this extent the persuader has need of debating techniques; no doubt, also, lines of argument in debate must be firmly tied to sensible motivational analyses, and to this extent the debater has need of persuasive methods. But many of the commoner techniques of persuasion are incompatible with the time limits enforced in formal debate. For instance, considerable time is generally spent in what is usually called "arousing the emotions" by rather direct methods of stimulation in persuasive efforts. But the debater who spends any appreciable amount of time in this pursuit is likely to find that devastating attacks on the logical structure connecting these emotions with his proposed course of action have placed him hopelessly in arrears, and the powerful drives touched off by his pathetic proofs are wasted for want of an effective guidance mechanism. Because of time limits, the debater must resist the temptation to deal at length with the emotional aspects of his arguments, devoting most of his attention to preserving intact the logical connections between such motives as he can assume in his audience and his position upon the proposition under debate.

Still other persuasive methods are completely useless in the debate situation. The analogy, for instance, is recognized as a powerful persuasive technique.[6] In most speaking situations its use is supposed to promote acceptance of ideas. Yet few experienced debaters will use the analogy, knowing from bitter experience that a competent opposition will invariably find a way to turn it against its originators, usually with disastrous results. Certainly debating and persuading have much in common, but there are important differences, and we should not expect training in debate to produce great ability in persuasion.

A fourth assumption often made by modern critics of debate implies that decisions are unnecessary adornments added to debate by enthusiasts whose desire for dominance exceeds their devotion to the true principles of speech education. Frequently associated with this assumption is the corollary proposition that debating to win is morally wrong. The ideal debate, in this view, is a leisurely, genteel exchange of opinions conducted in a spirit of amity on a high literary plane without thought of the outcome.

What these critics ignore is the implication that the sort of event which they would find emotionally, intellectually, aesthetically and

philosophically most gratifying would also represent the best kind of debate. Actually, though such an activity would doubtless be an elevating experience, it would not be a debate at all.

For it is in the nature of debate that one side wins and the other side loses. A properly worded debate proposition can be answered in only two ways — affirmation or denial. A given team can take only one of these positions in a given debate, and its opponent must take the other. At the conclusion of the debate, either the affirmative has established a preponderance of proof in favor of the proposition (in which case the affirmative wins), or the negative has established a preponderance of argument against the proposition (in which case the negative wins), or the arguments are so perfectly balanced that it is not possible to see any difference between them (in which case the negative wins because the affirmative has failed to fulfill its burden of proof). If we begin with a debate proposition, there are no other outcomes possible.

We may, of course, conceal this fact from our students by refusing to render decisions, and by urging upon them the notion that they are debating, not for a decision upon the question, but for a general evaluation of their own techniques. Now, in some contests such evaluations are the sole means of comparing participants, and the "general evaluation" concept may apply quite well. For instance, no orator or extemp speaker ever "defeats" another in any real sense of the word, any more than one poet or novelist or painter or composer "defeats" another. But there is always a winner in the real sense in every argument upon any proposition of policy. In the legislature a bill is passed or failed. In court a judgment is rendered for either the plaintiff or the defendant, *upon the relative merits of the two cases as presented, regardless of the absolute strength of either.* It is erroneous to render general evaluations of the arguments in place of decisions in binary situations like these, for it places debating in the same category with poetry-reading and trombone-playing, two activities of great value which are directed to ends totally different from that of debate.

The fifth and last assumption to be mentioned here is the unstated but frequently implied assertion that any activity which students engage in for fun or out of sporting motives is *per se* unworthy. Proponents of this view would like to see debating redirected in such a way that the only motives it could satisfy would be the desires for identification with the debating group and a "sound" speech training. They like to compare modern competition debating to football, an activity which many of the intellectuals who contribute to scholarly journals profess to despise. Debate, it is claimed, has degenerated into a "mere sport" with no greater aim than that of winning as many contests as possible.

I think that for the majority of debaters, debating is just that. They debate because they enjoy debating, and they enjoy it partly for the pure excitement that only a contest can give. I think that if one were to take away the contest and the excitement, debaters would suddenly become very hard to find.

This would be a great pity; for considered simply as a sport, debating is a most valuable activity. It stands as one of the last outposts of intellectual sport in today's system of education, and one of the few extra-curricular activities which provide any measure of public recognition for intellectual achievement. I do not perceive any justification for sur-

rendering up the notion that thinking can be fun or for denying the student who is good at it the medals, letters, headlines and other measures of acclaim accorded a competent athlete. This may serve in some small measure to offset the notion that the really significant thing about a university is the passing average of its quarterback.

Beyond this, however, debating is much more than just a sport, even when studens participate primarily out of competitive motives. The discipline of debating as a sport is identical with the program of training in oral argumentation. I do not know of any other sport (or any other speech activity) which, as an integral part of its discipline, involves the development of the analytical and reasoning skills which are so essential to debate, or which requires the amount of directed research and the number of rational decisions required of the debater. It is one of the few places in our schools, curricular subjects not excepted, where long-range intellectual effort and painstaking logical analysis are absolutely essential.

They are essential for contest debating, because one can be reasonably sure that his opponents will have exerted similar efforts, and failure to match their level of sophistication will probably result in loss of debates. Thus the debate situation provides rewards and punishments in proportion to ability and exertion, growing out of motives which are for most participants extremely potent, for activity of a type which is consistent with sound educational goals.

I submit that this is a situation unique in modern education, to be tampered with only after careful reflection by persons who are aware of the nature and real values of this much-publicized but little-understood branch of the rhetorical art.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Robert L. Smith, "NFL: A Perversion of Values." *Central States Speech Journal,* XI (1959), pp. 7-10; Cf Howard S. Woodward, "Debating Without Judges." *Quarterly Journal of Public Speaking,* I (1915), pp. 229-33; "The Decisionless Debate With the Open Forum." *Quarterly Journal of Speech Education,* VII (1921), pp. 279-91; E. D Schonberger, "Debate and the Audience Problem." *Quarterly Journal of Speech,* XVI (1930), pp. 291-6; "Public Address in the Secondary Schools." *Bulletin of the National Association of Secondary School Principals,* XXXVI (1952): Brooks Quimby, "Debate Tournaments Appraised." *The Gavel,* XXXII (1950).

[2]Burton H. Byers, "Debate as a Social Methodology." *Southern Speech Journal,* XVIII (1953), pp. 233-7.

[3]Henry C. Klingbeil, "Debate or Politics?" *Quarterly Journal of Speech,* XIV (1928), pp. 218-23; Denzil K. Freeth and Percy Cradock, "American *versus* British Debating." *Quarterly Journal of Speech,* XXXV (1949), pp. 427-9.

[4]W. Scott Nobles and Herman Cohen, "The Disjunctive Premise About Forensics." *The Speech Teacher,* VIII (1959), pp. 316-320.

[5]Douglas Ehninger, "Decision by Debate." *Quarterly Journal of Speech,* XLV (1959), pp. 284-5.

[6]Winston L. Brembeck and William S. Howell, *Persuasion: A Means of Social Control.* New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1952, pp. 208-9; Robert T. Oliver, *The Psychology of Persuasive Speech,* second edition. Longmans, Green & Co.: New York, 1957, p. 217.

Stock Issues in Tournament Debates

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The purposes of the investigation reported were to determine, on the basis of the tournament debaters studied, (1) which, if any, of the "stock" issues were given important consideration; (2) which "stock" issue was given the greatest consideration; and (3) if one "stock" issue did become most important, at what point in the debate dis this usually occur.

Debaters and their coaches have frequently hypothesized about a "turning point" in debates. Occasionally it has been suggested that the handling of one or another key issue is related to such a "turning point." Such speculation prompted the present study.

More specifically, the purposes of this investigation were to determine (1) which, if any, of the "stock" issues were given important consideration by average or better-than-average tournament debaters; and (2) which, if any, "stock" issue was given the greatest consideration; and (3) if one "stock" issue did become most important, at what point in a debate did this usually occur.

The term "issue" as used in this study denotes one of a number of fundamental questions, the answer to which determines the acceptability or unacceptability of the proposition being debated.[1] The term "stock" refers to key issues which are crucial to a class of propositions.[2]

Textbook writers do not entirely agree in terminology or treatment of "stock" issues. However, they generally agree that the following issues are important for propositions of policy which suggest a change in a more or less necessarily continuing system (such as national defense) :[3]

1. Is there a need to adopt the proposal?
2. Will the proposal meet the need indicated?
3. Can the proposal be put into effect in a practical way?
4. Can the proposal be adopted without serious disadvantages?
5. Will the plan which is presented best meet the need?

The problem of identification of key issues is of utmost importance to a debater as he searches for information and organizes his material preparatory to debate. The data collected in this study indicate the relative importance of various issues generally employed by experienced debaters and at what point in debates each issue usually achieves significance. Such information should be of interest to those who teach argumentation or direct debate programs.

Considerable attention has been given by textbook writers on debate to the problem of identification of key issues. However, for the most part, this treatment has been quite theoretical, even somewhat speculative. A search through the literature on debate shows no re-

port of an experimental study concerning this problem. Descriptive or analytical studies have been made concerning argumentative issues, but these have been concerned either with the analysis of the issues of a political campaign[4] or with the analysis of the issues in a specific proposition by a single speaker.[5] Such studies are tangential to the one here reported and are not directly applicable to tournament debating situations.

Procedure. The basic data for this study were obtained by a questionnaire which was submitted to each judge for each debate during the 1959 University of Kansas Heart of America Debate Tournament.[6]

At this tournament in March, 1959, colleges and universities from representative parts of the United States were invited. Schools were selected on the basis of their outstanding records in intercollegiate debate over the last five years. In attendance were 32 teams from 22 schools which represented 15 different states.[7]

Each school was required to furnish a trained, qualified judge,[8] i.e. a staff member trained in debate and experienced in the preparation and training of student debaters. Prior to each debate each judge was given a questionnaire with instructions as follows:

TO THE JUDGE:

Debate coaches have frequently hypothesized about a "turning point" in a debate. We have frequently wondered if the handling of one or another key issues is related to such a "turning point." Although we recognize that any conclusions drawn must be qualified in terms of the particular debate topic employed, we still think that information of this type would be of interest to you and to us. You will be given a copy of the results of this study at a later time.

Will you please answer two questions concerning the debate you just heard?

I. Which, if any, of the following "stock issues" became important in this debate? Rate, on a scale of 0 to 10, the relative importance of each of the following issues as they were handled in the debate just heard.

CIRCLE ONE NUMBER FOR EACH ISSUE:

0—1—2—3—4—5—6—7—8—9—10

"Need Issue" — Is there a *need* to adopt the proposal?

0—1—2—3—4—5—6—7—8—9—10

"Solution Issue" — Will the proposal *meet the need* outlined by the affirmative?

0—1—2—3—4—5—6—7—8—9—10

"Workability Issue" — Can the proposal be put into effect in a *practical* way?

0—1—2—3—4—5—6—7—8—9—10

"Disadvantages Issue" — Will serious *disadvantages* result if the proposal is adopted?

0—1—2—3—4—5—6—7—8—9—10

"Counterplan Issue" — Will some *other proposal* (Counterplan) better meet the need?

II. *If* one of the above issues is rated *higher than any of the others,* at what point in the debate did it become apparent to you that this issue had become most important in this debate?

PLEASE CHECK THE ONE WHICH IS APPROPRIATE, IF ANY:

___1st affirmative speech
___1st negative speech
___2nd affirmative speech
___2nd negative speech
___1st negative rebuttal
___1st affirmative rebuttal
___2nd negative rebuttal
___2nd affirmative rebuttal

Results. Tabulation of the data collected indicates that each of the stock issues studied was found to be important. The "need" issue was rated highest in relative importance (7.87 on a scale of 0-10)

with "workability" a very close second (7.34); "solution" and "disadvantages" were third and fourth and were rated almost as high (6.37 and 5.78). The "counterplan" issue was found to have slight importance in these debates (see Table I).

It is of some interest to note a slight difference in importance for each issue between the group of preliminary (partial round robin) rounds and the elimination rounds. This slight increase in importance was in favor of the "solution" and "workability" issues at the expense of "need" and "disadvantages".

As a further check on the data presented above, a tabulation was made for each stock issue of the percent of the debates in which the judge indicated that one stock issue became the most important (see Table II).

Again, "need" was first, "workability" second, "solution" third, and the "disadvantages" issue fourth. In this set of dimensions the difference in relative importance of the various stock issues is more pronounced. However, the order or importance is the same as in Table I, giving some indication of the reliability of those data.

The question of a "turning point" in a debate is one of the most interesting ones posed for this study. In order to make this concept more meaningful, a tabulation was made of the distribution of the percent of judges indicating that one stock issue had become most important during one of the debaters' speeches (see Table III).

Since the data presented previously indicate that "need" was generally the most important stock issue, it is of interest to note that this fact most frequently became apparent to the judges during the two negative constructive speeches.

"Workability" most often became the most important issue in a debate during the second negative constructive speech. In addition, this speech was one in which it usually became apparent to the judges that either the "solution" or "disadvantages" issues had become the most important in a debate.

No issues became clear to the judges as the most important ones in a debate as frequently during the rebuttal speeches as they did in the constructive speeches. In those debates in which the most important issue had not become clearly apparent until rebuttals, the "workability" issue in the first affirmative rebuttal speech was clearly in the lead. However, a significant number of debates had the most important issue identified during the second negative rebuttal speech. These latter cases were evenly distributed over these four issues: "need," "solution," "workability," and "disadvantages."

It most frequently became apparent that one issue had become the most important during the second negative constructive speeches. In about one-third of these cases it was the "need" issue. The second most important single speech in this respect was the first negative constructive, and in two-thirds of these cases it was the "need" issue which became the most important one.

It is most interesting to note that in two-thirds of the debates in which one single issue became most important this factor became apparent to the judge during the *constructive* speeches. Less than one-third of the time did a judge have to wait until rebuttals to realize which issue, if only one, was going to be the most important one in a debate.

It is also very interesting to note the preponderance of times

TABLE I

RELATIVE IMPORTANCE IN DEBATE OF EACH OF THE STOCK ISSUES
(Averages of ratings given on a scale of 0-10)

Issue	Preliminary Rounds	Elimination Rounds	All Debates	Number of Replies*
"Need"	8.10	7.23	7.87	162
"Solution"	6.26	6.69	6.37	150
"Workability"	7.28	7.51	7.34	158
"Disadvantages"	5.90	5.00	5.78	143
"Counterplan"	0.46	2.36	0.65	125

*Averages were taken from questionnaire items appropriately marked; replies which ignored this question were not considered in obtaining these averages.

(about three to one) that one of the negative speakers was able to determine for the judge which issue (or issues) was most important.

Conclusions. The main limitation of this study is that only one proposition was employed in the debates studied: "Resolved, that the further development of nuclear weapons should be prohibited by international agreement."

If we may conclude that this proposition is fairly representative of those in college debate tournaments, then from the data presented in the study we may derive these generalizations:

1. Four stock issues are ordinarily important in a v e r a g e or above-average college tournament debates. They are:
   a) "Need" — is there a *need* to adopt the proposal?
   b) "Solution" — will the proposal *meet* the need outlined by the affirmative team?
   c) "Workability" — can the proposal be put into effect in a *practical* way?
   d) "Disadvantages" — can the proposal be adopted without serious *disadvantages?*

2. Of highest relative importance in college tournament debates meeting the conditions of this study is the "need" issue; of *only slightly less* importance are the "workability" (practicality), "solution" (meeting the alleged need), and "disadvantages" issues.

3. College tournament debaters, when meeting average or above-average competition, can expect the judge to have become aware that a certain issue has become the most important one in the debate *before* rebuttals have commenced; on the basis of this study such could be predicted in about two debates out of three.

4. Among debaters who are average or above-average debating the negative constructive speakers on topics similar to the one employed in the debates studied may be expected to determine for the judge

TABLE II

PERCENT OF DEBATES IN WHICH THE JUDGE INDICATED WHICH SINGLE STOCK ISSUE WAS THE "MOST IMPORTANT" (N = 123)*

Issue	Preliminary Rounds	Elimination Rounds	All Debates
"Need"	46.9	36.1	44.7
"Solution"	14.9	17.2	15.5
"Workability"	23.3	31.0	25.2
"Disadvantages"	14.9	13.7	14.6
"Counterplan"	0.0	0.0	0.0

*Of the total of 168 replies, 123 indicated that *one* issue was "most important" in the debate; only these replies are considered in this table.

that the "need" issue has become the most important one in the debate.

5. In about ten to fifteen percent of such debates either "workability," "solution" or "disadvantages" may be expected to become the most important issue. In such cases this fact usually becomes apparent to the judge in the rebuttal speech of the first affirmative or the first negative, more probably in that of the first negative.

It would be interesting to study this problem further with another debate proposition. Did the general political climate regarding nuclear weapons and nuclear cease-fire color these results by making some special demands upon the debaters?

Throughout the study it seemed that the negative teams played an important role in pointing out the relative importance of various issues to the judges. Is this a facet of argumentation which advocates must expect to encounter? To what extent did the nature of the specific topic debated influence this tendency or trend?

Further research on the treatment of issues in argumentation and debating would seem to be interesting and warranted.

TABLE III

POINTS IN DEBATES AT WHICH IT BECAME APPARENT TO THE JUDGE THAT ONE STOCK ISSUE HAD BECOME IMPORTANT

Given in percent of judges indicating that one stock issue had become most important during a selected period of speaking by one debater. (N = 123) *

Speech	*Need*	*Solution*	*Workability*	*Disadvantages*	*Counterplan*	*Total*
1st Aff. Constructive	0.8	0.0	0.0	1.6	0.0	2.4
1st Neg. Constructive	12.2	1.6	1.6	1.6	0.0	17.0
2nd Aff. Constructive	5.7	2.4	4.1	1.6	0.0	13.8
2nd Neg. Constructive	12.2	7.3	9.8	5.7	0.0	35.0
1st Neg. Rebuttal	7.3	0.8	0.8	0.8	0.0	9.7
1st Aff. Rebuttal	0.8	0.0	4.9	0.8	0.0	6.5
2nd Neg. Rebuttal	2.4	2.4	2.4	2.4	0.0	9.6
2nd Aff. Rebuttal	2.4	0.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.2
Not Answered	0.8	0.0	1.6	0.0	0.0	2.4

*Of the total of 168 replies, 123 indicated that *one* issue became "most important" in the debate; only these replies were considered in this table.

FOOTNOTES

[1]See Baird, A. Craig, *Argumentation, Discussion, and Debate,* New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1950, p. 63.

[2]Cf. McBurney, James H., *et. al., Argumentation and Debate,* New York, The Macmillan Company, 1951, p. 38.

[3]See, for example, Potter, David, (Ed.), *Argumentation and Debate,* New York, The Dryden Press, 1954, pp. 31-38; Baird, *op. cit.,* pp. 63-71; McBurney, *op. cit.,* pp. 36-42.

[4]See, for example, Oliver, Robert T., "The Speech that Established Roosevelt's Reputation," *Quarterly Journal of Speech,* Vol. XXXI (1945), p. 275; also, Crocker, Lionel, "Henry Ward Beecher

and the English Press of 1863, "*Speech Monographs,* Vol. VI (1939), pp. 32-40.

[5]Two examples are illustrative: Arnold, Carroll C., "Invention in the Parliamentary Speaking of Benjamin Disraeli, 1842-1852," *Speech Monographs,* Vol. XIV (1947), pp. 66-74; and Richards, Gale L. "A Case Study in Deliberative Persuasion: John Marshall's Congressional Speech on Jonathan Robbins," *Speech Monographs,* Vol. XXI (1954), pp. 258-261.

[6]For a description of this tournament, its objective and manner of operation, see Giffin, Kim, and Will Linkugel, "The Heart of America Debate Tournament." *The Gavel.* Vol. 40, No. 4, May, 1958, pp. 73-74.

[7]Schools in attendance were University of Alabama, Augustana College (Illinois), Baylor University, Dartmouth College, University of Florida, University of Houston, University of Illinois, University of Kansas, University of Kansas City, Kansas State Teachers College, University of Miami, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Northwestern University, University of Oklahoma, Pacific Lutheran College, Princeton University, San ern California, Southwest Missouri State Diego State College, University of South-College, St. Olaf College, United States Military Academy, Wisconsin State College at Eau Claire.

[8]See Giffin, Kim, "A Study of the Criteria Employed by Tournament Debate Judges," *Speech Monographs,* Vol. XXVI, No. 1, March, 1959, pp. 69-71.

On The Meaning of the Term *Prima-Facie* in Argumentation

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Every academic undertaking has its ritual words. The use of "prima-facie" in intercollegiate and interscholastic debating and in our textbooks indicates a mystical identification among academic arguers and may point towards the primordium of argumentation which may need re-examination. A consideration of the meaning of the term may prove of service not only in the narrow confines of academic argumentation but may be illustrative of our general tendencies as teachers.

Intercollegiate debaters have a tendency to use esoteric language to impress whatever listeners they may have; this tendency they share with many others including their professors. In most instances the practice is benign; we share the symbols of our fraternity in good spirit and know that language functions in many ways other than the communication of specific meaning.

"Our opponents have not presented a prima-facie case!" is not the most common exercise in forensic mysteries, but one hears it occasionally. In the overwhelming number of instances one need not embarrass the user of "prima-facie" by asking him to explain the term; roughly he means "good case." Recently, a colleague used the term in a context that caused an inquiry into his meaning. He translated it into some equally mysterious synonyms, but, in the end, his meaning for prima-facie was also roughly "good case."

One would be justified in concluding that in that isolated province of argumentation referred to as intercollegiate debate, the term "prima-facie" does not have specific meaning, is not "analytic" in nature in spite of its contextual guises. We may then smile, nod, and pass by when we hear it, or we may p a u s e momentarily at least and inquire into a vague term to see if it might be made to yield insight into the form and substance of argumentation, insight that may make us more knowledgeable arguers.

If one examines the argumentation and debate textbooks, he will find that not all use the term in exploring their subject matter. This bit of evidence points to the conclusion that the term is either non-essential or that some textbook writers have been delinquent in dealing with the subject. An examination of the treatment given the term in the remaining texts, however, tends to confirm the former rather than the latter conclusion. Most writers point out that the term is common in the field of law and give definitions that closely resemble those found in law dictionaries. A prima-facie case is one that overcomes the presumption that the negative (the

defendant) occupies the proper position (is innocent). Since a prima-facie case accomplishes this function, the negative (defense) must respond.

Are definitions such as these helpful: "A prima-facie case is any case presented by the affirmative which if unanswered will stand,"[1] or "The affirmative can satisfactorily discharge its burden of proof by establishing a prima-facie case. In law, *prima-facie* means evidence sufficient to establish a fact, or to raise a presumption of fact, unless rebutted."[2] Yes, they are; but only minimally so. Part of the problem lies in the fact that in law different types of cases have precedents that help establish, together with written law, what will constitute a case that will overcome a presumption of innocence.[3] There are no clear cut aids of this sort in general argumentation. The definitions of prima-facie usually given, and learned by our students, raise the question "what is necessary to establish a case that demands rebuttal?" Our texts may answer this question eventually, but they do not do so in such a way as to make the term "prima-facie" meaningful. Thus the term remains a ritualistic synonym for "good case."

The term "prima-facie" may point to some rather specific considerations of the case which will help debaters analyze what is or is not sufficient and will be, therefore, helpful in the construction of affirmative cases and their rebuttal. To determine whether a case is sufficient *on its face* involves *formal* judgments, i.e., to say a case is prima-facie is to say that it is complete and consistent. If a case is complete and consistent, one must raise *substantive* objections, i.e., it must be answered in the sense the lawyers mean when they say it must be "rebutted."[4] The form and substance of argument are not easily isolated for analysis, but the lack of ease must be a spur to activity.

If the term "prima-facie" directs us toward the *form* of argument, we are, by definition, dealing with a subject traditionally called "logic." Whether the traditional forms of logic are sufficient to deal with the argument we meet in intercollegiate debate or in everyday argument is an open question and one with which we shall deal not at all satisfactorily later, but first there are some other problems basic to answering the question. "Is the affirmative's case sufficient on-its-face?"

If one wishes a complete answer to his question, he must be willing to analyze the argument presented on different levels. The case has structure and sub-structure, forms within forms. My colleague asked me, "When you use the term "prima-facie" do you include or exclude the evidence?" But the term "evidence" is a dynamic one; the thing (group-of-words) cannot be isolated, labelled "evidence" and treated as if this is necessarily its sole function. As far as the argumentative considerations of the use of language go, groups of words may be one of two things or both: something-to-be-proved (conclusion) or material - upon - which - proof - rests (evidence). If a conclusion is accepted as "proved," it can then be used as "evidence" upon which to base further conclusions. This is ordinarily the case in complex arguments.

In debate we might say that the first (and probably the most useful) level at which a formal consideration may be made would be whether the contentions, if accepted, compel the acceptance of the proposition. Thus the term prima-facie-case could be made to refer to the completeness of the

structure formed by the primary contentions of the affirmative. The affirmative says, in effect, "If you accept my contentions, you are compelled to accept the proposition." One who objects to the case on-its-face says, in effect, "I may accept your contentions and still reject your proposition." Perhaps the most familiar objection of this sort in intercollegiate debate is raised when the negative says, "You have failed to argue that the defects you indicate are inherent in our present system."

In an optimum situation, a case which is not prima-facie would be recognized by everyone present except, presumably, the affirmative. Such a case would require no rebuttal. Ordinarily, however, a negative can not assume that a recognition of the incompleteness of the case will be instantaneous and rather than sit silently, the negative will endeavor to explain to the audience (be it a single judge) that the case is not prima-facie acceptable. Would it be proper to say that he hasn't undertaken rebuttal when he does so? He has not, in a strict sense of the word "rebuttal," but the limits of this sense of the word are so obscure as to make the definition of "prima-facie" depend upon the words "requires no rebuttal" absurd.

Not only does the entire case have *form* which may or may not be complete, but any unit within the case also has form. It would be sensible, then, to say that we have or fail to have prima-facie contentions, treating each contention as a logical unit. The same kinds of questions may be raised concerning each unit as can be raised concerning the entire case. These questions are, however, seldom raised. Although the prima-facie sufficiency of contentions probably ought not be questioned as often as the face value of the overall case, this second level of analysis ought not be completely ignored.

There is a third level upon which prima-facie questions can be raised. In legal usage one finds the term "prima-facie evidence." Is such a term sensible? From the point of view that evidence is evidence, probably not, but if one remembers that "fact" is "alleged" to be fact, then the question of the acceptability of such an allegation on-its-face is sensible. Again the question is a formal one: If the data are accurate, is the fact established? Assuming the data, to raise a prima-facie objection, the negative says, "No. Even if your data are accurate, the fact is not established." The negative then has the burden of explaining (since the immediate recognition of insufficiency cannot ordinarily be assumed) why the data are incomplete.

The meaning of prima-facie has been considered in connection with the overall structure (the case), the primary unit of structure (the contention), and the material of the structure (the evidence). This consideration brings into even more critical focus the necessity of dealing with one of the most essential questions in argumentation: under what circumstances are we justified in saying that a case (contention or evidence) is prima-facie? The answers "when it does not require rebuttal" or "when it is complete and consistent" are scarcely adequate and are probably circular.

In the past we have dealt with this essential question in two ways. In regard to the larger structure, primarily the case as I have used the term, we have discussed and urged the use of the stock issue analysis, saying, in effect, if answers to the questions raised by the stock issues are included in the affirmative, the case is prima-

facie. In regard to the finer, the smaller structures, we have discussed the use of traditional logical forms, mainly the categorical syllogism with little attention to conditional argument or to alternation, but we have been rather vague in directing our students in the use of these forms in debates or in everyday argument.

Both the stock-issue analysis and traditional logical forms are useful in the analysis of argumentative structure, but they are not, for the purpose of intercollegiate debate and especially for everyday argument, sufficient.

Stock-issue analysis is relevant only to questions of policy. Our textbooks leave us without standard forms to consider questions of fact or questions of value. As teachers, we should deal more thoroughly with these types of questions. It may well be that a variety of standards, set stock issues, could be elaborated as tests for different classes of questions. The traditional logical forms also could probably be applied with profit to the overall structure of the case.

Recently Stephen Toulmin[5] has developed a new structure for analyzing the validity of argument. His form depends upon the examination of data, claim, warrant, backing, qualifications, and reservation. Applying his method, questions could be raised concerning the completeness of the argument and the relevancy of the parts therein. These would be prima-facie questions. If the argument were complete and the parts relevant, Toulmin's system leads us to ask substantive questions concerning the matter of the argument — herein lies its advantage, but it is beyond the scope of this paper to discuss particular applications of this or any other system of analysis.

It is important to teach our students to analyze argument and potentially, it may be fruitful to teach them to raise prima-facie questions. This will involve a deepening of the understanding of the term, however, beyond that held by the overwhelming majority of students. In handling an attack on a case as not being acceptable on-its-face, the student may apply different systems. What he cannot do ordinarily is assume that his listeners share his understanding of the intricacies of any particular system. He cannot, therefore, depend upon simply labelling the difficulties he alleges with the technical language of traditional logic, modern symbolic logic, Toulmin's analysis, or even of stock-issues. Whereas in some special cases his knowledge and vocabulary may be shared with his listeners, he must be able to explain the nature of his objections to those unacquainted with any special system, or we have not properly done our work as teachers.

We may, as asserted at the beginning, continue to respect the term "prima-facie" as one of the magic terms of our particular segment of a society of arguers, and treat it as roughly synonymous with "good case." On the other hand, we may undertake to reexamine the term and try to use it to lead our students (and ourselves) to a richer understanding of argumentation. Basically, "prima-facie" means on-its-face and raises formal questions. These formal questions should lead a student to examine the sufficiency of the argument, i.e., its completeness and consistency, assuming the acceptability of its parts for the purpose of the prima-facie analysis. Such analysis may be made at different levels: the case as a whole, the primary units (the contentions), and the "facts" alleged. After such consideration, an arguer can turn to questioning the acceptability of

contentions and evidence.

But, at any rate, we should recognize that the oft applied phrases "necessary to change the presumption" and "demands rebuttal" are insufficient to fix a usable meaning to "prima-facie" for our students. We ought further to recognize that the questions raised by the term lead us to a consideration of systems of analysis, the area in which the most challenging work in argumentation remains to be done.

FOOTNOTES

[1]William A. Behl, *Discussion and Debate*, New York, 1953, p. 248.

[2]A. Westley Rowland and Wayne C. Eubank, "Organizing the Case," in *Argumentation and Debate*, ed. by David Potter, New York, 1954, p. 64.

[3]William T. Foster gives an interesting example of this fact. If a farmer should sue a railroad for damages resulting from a burned field, it would be enough for his lawyer to prove that a fire did occur and that it was kindled by the engine. He would not be required to prove that any member of the crew was negligent nor that the engine, or any equipment, was defective. The elements of the prima-facie case, (the fire and its source) have been set by practice for this category of claims. (See *Argumentation and Debating*, New York, 1945, pp. 247-249.)

[4]James A. Ballentine, *Law Dictionary*, Rochester, New York, 1948, p. 1008.

[5]See Stephen Toulmin, *The Uses of Argument*, Cambridge, 1958, esp. chapt. III. See also Wayne Brockreide and Douglas Ehninger. "Toulmin on Argument: An Interpretation and Application," *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, XLVI, 1 (February, 1960), 44-53.

Barabas and Shylock Against a Background of Jewish History in England

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This article examines the history of the Jews in England up to and including Elizabethan times in order to add to our understanding of Shakespeare's Shylock. The examination also compares Marlowe's Barabas with the Bard's characterization in order that a fuller dimensionality of the Elizabethan concept might be made manifest. Such an examination should be helpful to those who seek additional information on the proper interpretation of these characters.

Historians are not generally in agreement as to the date of the first Jewish migration into England. A few historians pick the Roman invasion (55 B. C.) as the conceivable time for this Jewish influx.[1] Mr. James K. Hosmer, who gives many pertinent arguments for this point of view, recalls the banishment of the Jews by Canute who reigned as king between 1017 and 1035 A. D.[2]

Regardless of the actual date of the first Jewish settlement in England, it is a well known fact that the Jews followed William the Conqueror to England during the Norman Invasion in 1066 A.D.[3] Most of the Jews at that time settled in either London or Oxford. Settlement in Oxford probably came about because of its reputation as a seat of learning. Before this time, Alfred the Great, king of England between 871 and 899 A.D. had made plans for a scholarly community in that vicinity. Evidence of the Jews' presence in Oxford seems to be borne out by the names of buildings built during the thirteenth century. One was called Moses Hall while another was named Jacob Hall.[4]

During the time of William I, the Jews were treated kindly. However, it is easily speculated that there must have been much animosity toward them as foreigners and followers of the conqueror.

William I was succeeded on the throne by William Rufus or William II. This latter William reigned from 1087 till 1100 A.D. William II appears to have been even more tolerant than his predecessor. "He appointed a public debate in London between rabbis and bishops, and swore by the face of St. Luke that if the churchmen were defeated, he would turn Jew himself."[5]

Henry I, successor to William II, was honest and sympathetic in his treatment of the Jews according to available records.

The real plight of the Jews in England commenced in the years to follow.[6] It was during the reign of Stephen, 1135-1154, that charges were brought against the Jews by a certain Jewish convert, Theobald of Cambridge, "that the Jews killed a Christian every year before Passover as a sacrifice, de-

ciding by lots in which city the murder was to take place."[7] The evidence was very flimsy and the Jews were not required to answer the charges. The Jews subsequently were given protection by the sheriff of Norwich.

The charges, mentioned above, had grown particularly from the story of St. William of Norwich. The account of this martyred saint represents a sensationalism that antedated either Marlowe or Shakespeare. A complete account of the incident was written in Latin in 1173 by William of Monmouth and titled, *The Life and Miracles of Saint William of Norwich*. "In the specific case of William of Norwich, the evidence critically sifted leads one to believe that he actually existed and that his body was found after he had died a violent death. Everything beyond this, however, is in the realm of speculation."[8] To relate the story in brief, the Jews had drawn lots to decide which of the communities should sacrifice a Christian in preparation for the Passover. The lot fell to the community of Jews at Norwich. They in turn decided upon young William, reported to be anywhere from seven to 12 years of age, as the Christian who should be sacrificed.

Despite his early age Young William had become one of the most expert furriers in the trade. (He had been apprenticed under the Guild system.) He was captured finally by a certain Jewish messenger. Thomas of Monmouth relates the horrible and shocking description of the sacrificial rites, conducted in memory of Christ's crucifixion by these Jews. The boy's body was bound — his head severely wrapped and his mouth gagged. His head was shaved and pierced with countless thorn-points. Next he was hung to a device resembling the cross. His left hand and foot were pierced with nails, and he was stabbed in the left side. He was then covered with boiling water because of the blood streaming from his body."[9]

This account actually is one of absurdity and false superstition. It was never convincingly proved. Yet Geoffrey Chaucer, "father of English poetry", incorporated this story in *The Canterbury Tales* as the one told by the Prioress. It could have been told by an English nun of his time.

As told by the Prioress the story has significant changes. William had learned to sing the song, *O Alma Redemptoris*. He made the mistake of singing this song in the Jewish quarter just before the Passover, and the Jews — "set on by Satan, who 'hath in Jewe's herte his waspes nest' — conspire and plot, and lay hold on him, and cut his throat, and cast him into a pit."[10] After the murder, according to the Prioress, the child continued singing and explained to the bishop and his weeping mother that the Virgin had appeared to him.

The importance of the latter account rests in the fact that, like Shakespeare and Marlowe, Chaucer could not have known any English Jews. They had been exiled from England in 1290 while Chaucer was not born until 1340.

While Stephen was still the reigning monarch of England, he was able to quell the riots of non-Jews against Jews. The stories of the blasphemous acts of the Jews continued, however. One of the stories claimed that the Jews secured the round wafer used during Communion—ground it in a mortar, and rejoiced to see the blood of Christ pour forth. Stephen, seeing his treasury become depleted, confiscated and plundered the wealth of the Jews for the purpose of building up his treasury. This was endured because the Jewish communities, as a ready source of

wealth, continued to receive royal protection.[11]

Stephen I was succeeded by Henry II (1154-1189). During that particular period the relationships of all subjects remained relatively quiet.

After the death of Henry II, "Richard the Lion Hearted" or Richard I ascended the throne. The Jewish people, hoping to retain the privileges they had enjoyed under Henry II decided that they should be represented at the coronation and should likewise present gifts to their new monarch. The various communities throughout England selected their wealthiest and most respected members to attend the coronation. Costly gifts from the communities were to be presented to the new monarch.[12] At this point the story becomes rather confused. According to Lady Magnus,

> They never got the chance of making their contemplated pretty speeches, nor of offering their handsome propitiatory presents. Possibly the sight of so much wealth, brought as a free-will offering, suggested the idea of plunder. If Jews could give so generously, unasked, what might they not give with a little pressure? In this way reasoned the populace, and the result was that the deputation never reached the palace. It was pitilessly set upon and robbed, and one of the number, a Jew from York named Benedict, was so badly hurt in the course of the rioting, that he reached home only to die of his wounds.[13]

Another account relates that

> The trouble started on the day of the coronation of Richard the Lionhearted. London was full of men who had vowed to join the king on the crusade which he had promised to lead right after his coronation. The rumor spread suddenly that the new king had ordered an attack on the Jews. Here was one order which the rabble promptly obeyed, and royal officers were hard put to it to stop the outrage.[14]

Still another account states,

> The imprudent Israelites, overanxious to win the favor of the new reign, thronged to the coronation bearing costly gifts. The crusading spirit was rife; the presence of such infidel sorcerers at the ceremony was held to be of evil omen. An attempt was made to exclude them from Westminster Abbey, which many evaded, and the boldness of the intruders cost the Jews dear throughout the entire kingdom.[15]

From these accounts it is apparent that the difficulty arose because of the Jewish hope that the new king might treat them kindly. Richard I was obliging enough to proclaim safety for the Jewish communities. The unfortunate incidents which were to follow seemed to have been prompted by Richard's absence from the country. During the Third Crusade the anger of the populace mounted. Every Jewish community in England was plundered and many Jews were murdered. Jews were offered, in many instances, death or conversion to Christianity. Most of them chose death.

The plundering of the many communities culminated in the Massacre of York. The Jews in York took refuge in the royal castle after their homes were pillaged by the local citizenry. Among others this included the wealthier individuals and the clergy. The supplies within the castle were short. The Jews, not being able to hold out any longer, decided on suicide. There were some five hundred of them within the castle walls. One by one the fathers slayed their wives and children. They in their turn were slain by each other or the rabbi. When the rioters broke through the castle gates, they found nothing but a silent tomb, and a few members of the Jewish faith who had decided on conversion. These "converts" soon joined their brothers in silent death at the hands of the Christians. The reason for complete annihilation in the York Massacre was obvious enough. Many of the local citizenry had outstanding debts to the Jews. As long as any Jew survived, the debts could possibly be collect-

ed. After the massacre the local citizenry rushed to the church, seized the records of debts (at that time kept in the church for safe-keeping) and publicly burned them.[16]

On Richard's return to England, however, he set up books, as closely as possible, to collect the debts owed to the Jews. As far as his treatment of the Jews was concerned:

> Richard was not cruel, nor capricious, nor persecuting. He constituted them 'his Jews', and it was his interest, and it probably was his pleasure, to protect, and to permit no extra nor unauthorized plunder at the hands of priests or barons or populace.[17]

The next monarch to sit upon the throne of England was John I (1199-1216). This was the same John who was forced to sign the Magna Carta in 1215. Under this monarchy, the Jews were subjected to "all kinds of taxes, in the form of tallages on goods, chattels, and debts, of gifts, offerings, ransoms, compositions, licenses and fines."[18] King John was impulsive and in 1210, "quite suddenly, without warning or provocation of any sort, all the Jews in the kingdom were imprisoned, and their goods declared to be confiscated."[19] At this time a number of rabbis joined their French colleagues in an exodus to the Holy Land.

The long and unforgettable reign of Henry III, 1216-1272, followed the reign of John. Henry III enforced the wearing of the badge in 1218. This was a white oblong piece of material that had to be worn on the outside of the gown letting all people know that its wearer was unmistakably a Jew. Consequently, the Jews asked for permission to leave the land. Their request was refused. They meant too much to the royal treasury. In 1230, one-third of Jewish property was levied in taxes. The burden of taxation on the Jew between the years 1255 and 1271 was unbelievable. In 1241 a 'Jewish Parliament' was called to order in Worcester. Supposedly the topic for consideration was the ways and means of bettering the lots of the Jews. It proved to be the means of even greater taxation.[20]

The church also stepped up its anti-Jewish legislation during this time. In an order of January 31, 1253, provisions were made that

> Jewish worship in the synagogues should be carried on in a low voice, inaudible to Christians; Jews might not employ Christian nurses or domestics; Jews might not eat or buy meat during Lent. No Jew might prevent another Jew from embracing Christianity.[21]

John, feeling complete master of the Jews, sold them and their rights to his brother Richard for five thousand marks. This sale covered a period of one year. During the same year (1255), the Jews were blamed for the murder of another Christian boy (Hugh of Lincoln). For this, 91 were sent to the Tower of London, and 18 were executed. (However, an appeal was made by the friars who proved the utter falsity of the charge.) During the Civil War, the London Jewry was completely sacked (1262-1266).[22]

During the reign of Henry III, in 1239, Pope Gregory IX ordered the seizure of all Jewish books. It was believed that the *Talmud* in particular contained teaching that preached actual defiance to Christianity. Later Odo, Bishop of Tusculum, wrote, "This too [teaching of the *Talmud*] is the chief factor that holds the Jews obstinate in their perfidy."[23]

Another thing which led to unfortunate relations was the arrival of the Caorsini in England.[24] The Caorsini had been callectors of the Pope's revenue in Italy. In England they were recognized as a craft of dealers in money. Subsequently the Jew was forced to charge a higher interest rate because of the dangers to which his property was

exposed and because of the unfair taxation. It was only inevitable that complete distrust and unwholesome relations should develop between Jew and Caorsini. Since the time of John, the Jews did not actually own their own land. Farming was completely out of the question for them. The Guilds were closed to them.[25] There were actually few occupations open to the Jew other than the trade of usury.

During the reign of Edward I (1272-1307) additional legislation and decrees were forthcoming, which eventually brought an end to the 'known' Jews living in England. "In 1273 every Jew above the age of ten was ratable for taxation."[26] (At this time the Jews were paying one-twelfth of the royal income.) Edward I also published his *Statute of Judaism* in 1275. By this decree it was made public that practicing usury by the Jew would be prohibited henceforth. Edward also had the identifying 'labels' of Jews changed in color from white to yellow. In addition to these:

> A supplementary edict of 1279 set capital punishment upon Jewish blasphemy against the Christian religion. In 1280 the Jews were ordered to listen to conversion sermons of the Dominicans. The Synod of Exeter, in 1281, gave force to the usual churchly enactments against the Jews. Jews were forbidden to employ Christian domestics, nor were they allowed to hold public office. Christians might not eat at Jewish tables or engage the services of Jewish physicians. No new synagogues were to be built, doors and windows were to be shut on Good Friday, the wearing of the badge and the payment of church tithes were made obligatory.[27]

Finally, the inevitable occurred. The Jews had been drained of their livelihood. They were without the funds to supply the royal treasury. Their value to the king was nil. On July 18, 1290, the first expulsion of the Jews was ordered by the king. They were to leave England by All Saint's Day of that year. They were allowed to take those few things they could carry. All other properties and goods were to be confiscated by the crown. The Jews were provided passage across the channel. Some 15,000 to 16,000 of them were made homeless. All of this number did not reach the continent, however, because during the voyage they were the victims of the captains of the ships.[28]

Evidence now points to the fact that a certain number of Jews stayed behind. These Jews are referred to as Marrannos. These were "pseudo Christians, but most of them, no longer real Jews."[29] The latter statement is not to be debated at this point. There were, however, two interesting cases that appeared in England during the reign of Queen Elizabeth I (1558-1603).

The first person brought into light as a Marranno was one Jeochim Gaunz. Mr. Gaunz proposed, in 1581, to show the English government new ways of manufacturing copper, vitriol, copperas, and preparing copper for commerce. Jeochim Gaunz worked for the Ministry. For eight or nine years he lived in Blackfriars. In 1589 he visited Bristol where he met a minister, Richard Crawley, who was interested in world religions and languages. Somehow Crawley discovered that Mr. Gaunz could speak Hebrew. Eventually the latter's beliefs were discovered.

> The Jew was taken into custody before the Bristol Magistrates and in answer to inquiries the prisoner stated that he was a Jew, was born in Prague in Bohemia, was brought up in the Talmud of the Jews, was never baptized and did not believe any articles of Christian faith. The Magistrates, in doubt how to deal with him, sent him before the Privy Council at Whitehall, and he was probably banished.[30]

The other case of interest during this period was that of Dr. Roderigo Lopez. Dr. Lopez was a prominent physician of the day. He had gained the distinction of being

personal physician to Her Majesty. Later it was discovered that Dr. Lopez not only was a Jew but that he was member to a conspiracy to murder Elizabeth and the Portuguese Pretender, Antonio Perez. Lopez was found guilty and was hanged in London.[31] It has been conjectured often that Dr. Lopez was not executed because he was a conspirator, but because he was a Jew.

The animosity toward the Jews ran rampant in English history up until the time of Shakespeare. This animosity was substantiated by false and malicious accusations not only by the common populace, but by the nobility and clergy as well. Protestants as well as Catholics promoted these beliefs. It was Martin Luther who said, "Know, dear Christian, and doubt it not, that next to the Devil himself, thou has no more bitter, poisonous, violent enemy than the Jew."[32]

Another factor, witchcraft, helped formulate the beliefs of the Elizabethans.

> Though the Jews themselves had largely abandoned it, it was shared not only by the common people in England but by the intellectual leaders of the time. Shakespeare, Bacon, Selden, Sir Walter Raleigh, and Sir Thomas Browne all believed in witches. Laws against witchcraft were passed under Henry VIII, Elizabeth, and James I.[33]

The earliest play, still in existence, that dealt with the Jew on the stage in England, was *The Three Ladies of London.* This play, possibly written by a Robert Wilson, was produced around 1584. Unlike its successors, this was one of the few plays in which the Jew was treated rather kindly. The play deals with the Jewish moneylender, Gerontus, and a Christian merchant, Mercatore. The setting of the play is in Turkey. Mercatore has become indebted to Gerontus. By Turkish law, any Christian individual who renounces his religion and becomes a Turkish citizen will be excused of his debts. Mercatore, in refusing to repay his debt, is called with Gerontus before the chief judge. After much deliberation, it is Mercatore who finally states that he intends to become a Turkish citizen, hence the debt is no longer binding. "Gerontus consents to lose all his money rather than allow it to be said of him that he had compelled the Christian to abandon his religion."[34]

Imagine the significance of this play! Imagine a play which would soon be followed by *The Jew of Malta* and *The Merchant of Venice* with such an idea for the central theme! Perhaps because of the Elizabethan audience, the judge was made to close the case with a "left-handed compliment: Jews seek to excel in Christianity, and Christians in Jewishness."[35]

MARLOWE, *THE JEW OF MALTA*, AND BARABAS

Many scholars have speculated as to the original source for Marlow's *The Rich Jew of Malta.* At one time historians and scholars alike looked to the case of Dr. Roderigo Lopez (stated above) as the reason for exploitation of the dramatic value in villainous Jews on the Elizabethan stage. It has been pointed out repeatedly since that time, however, that the case of Dr. Lopez was an event which followed Marlowe's death. No mention, to this author's knowledge, has ever been made with respect to the case of Jeochim Gaunz. It is plausible to believe that the same excitement centering around the case of Dr. Lopez was preceded by excitement over the trial of Jeochim Gaunz. It is an established fact that Gaunz was employed in 'Her Majesty's service' during a period when Marlowe himself was engaged actively in similar services. The fact that Gaunz was tried before the Magistrates certainly would provoke belief that Mar-

lowe was not ignorant of the affair.

In other research Dr. Lucien Wolf argues that it has been a well established fact that many wealthy Jewish families were living in London during the Elizabethan times. Wolf further states facts centering around a certain Alvaro Mendez (a Jew living in England during Elizabeth's reign) who was a kinsman of Juan Miques. After the latter's death, Alvaro Mendez moved to Constantinople where he was to become a political enemy of a certain Daird Passi, a Jew, who enjoyed royal favoritism in Constantinople at that time.[36] Some scholars cite this as positive proof that Christopher Marlowe came in contact with Jewish families. These same scholars fail to point out that Dr. Wolf does not mention that these Jews were known as Jews. It is easier to believe that Alvaro Mendez was a Marranno, living under the same conditions as Jeochim Gaunz and Dr. Roderigo Lopez.

In his introduction to *The Jew in English Drama,* Mr. Edward D. Coleman asserts

> No living models for the Jew were easily available to English dramatists during the sixteenth century, because there were no Jews in England, at least none recognizable as such, during the period of the rise and early progress of the modern drama in that country. Jews were expelled from England in 1290 and their return was not permitted until 1656.[37]

The possible sources for the plot outline of *The Rich Jew of Malta* are confusing. David Passi (mentioned above) is supposedly one of the original counterparts of Barabas as described by Mr. Bennett.[38] David Passi was involved in political affairs in Constantinople. Eventually he pitted Turks against Christians in much the same manner in which Barabas operates.

Through other research C. F. Tucker Brooke asserts that Juan Miques (the kinsman of Alvaro Mendez) was the literary ancestor to Barabas.

> L. Kellner has drawn attention to the interesting parallel between the career of Barabas in the play and that of Juan Miques, a Portuguese Jew who flourished during the middle of the sixteenth century. After enduring persecution in his own country, in Antwerp, and in Venice, Miques took refuge with the Turks in Constantinople, and there employed his enormous wealth and his influence over the sultan Selim to the disadvantage of the Christians. He was made Duke of Naxos and the Cyclades, and caused the Turkish attack on Cyprus in 1570.[39]

Another of the many sponsored theories in regard to the actual source of Marlowe's *The Jew of Malta* comes from Mr. J. A. Symonds.[40] Mr. Symonds, in reference to the cruelty and bestiality of Barabas, proposes that Marlowe may have used an old Spanish novel as his source. This contention is highly possible, but notice the parallel between it and the story of Juan Miques.

> When the Visigothic king, Sisebut, opened for them the chapter of persecution in the Spanish peninsula, they revenged themselves by smoothing energetically the path of the invading Moors. On Palm-Sunday at Toledo while the people went in procession to church outside the walls, the Jews secretly admitted the Saracins into the city, joined their host, and fell upon the Christians with the swords as they were returning home.[41]

Some historians have said that Marlowe drew his *Jew of Malta* from an earlier play called *The Jew.* Such accounts are held highly improbable, however, since no records of the play and its characters seemed to be in existence during Marlowe's lifetime.

Whatever the source material may have been, it seems highly unlikely that Marlowe personally knew any Jews. He knew of the escapades and courtly intrigue centering around Juan Miques or similar individuals. He had an awareness for the highly theatrical appeal of a character who was not understood through Elizabethan

times. Undoubtedly, he was even more conscious of Barabas' appeal to his audience because of the case of Jeochim Gaunz. This latter case is again significant when one realizes that Gaunz, a Jew, was posing as a Christian. (Abigail was persuaded to pose as a Christian by Barabas.) The incidents of the play must have appeared to be highly believable and valid to an Elizabethan audience.

Marlowe did one of the best jobs of his career in drawing the characters of *The Jew of Malta*. Evidently he had become well acquainted with the doctrines of Machiavelli while studying at Cambridge. Marlowe builds his central character with gigantic strokes. He never once allows the character to become sympathetic. Mr. Edward Meyer indicates how closely Marlowe follows the plan established by Machiavelli:

> . . . a tyrannie ought to be builded, that is, by crueltie, perfidie, craft, perjurie, impietie, revenges, contempt of counsell and friends, entertainment of flatterers, tromperie, the hatred of virtue, covetousness, inconstancie and other like vices . . . Secondly by maintaining and keeping subjects . . . in poverty and necessity . . . Thirdly he adds another mean, namely to build fortresses against them . . . For poverty is no sufficient mean to contain a people in obedience, for they are never unfurnished of arms.[42]

It is no wonder Marlowe's character of Barabas becomes such an exaggerated villain when one considers the Machiavellian principles in establishing and maintaining a true Machiavel—and when one realizes that this is precisely what Marlowe was doing. For creating a true Machiavel, Marlowe should be given due credit. The fact that he depicted this individual as a Jew, is unfortunate.

Barabas' devotion to his daughter Abigail is probably the greatest truism represented in the text of the play. The Jewish people are (and have been) particularly well known for the close love, respect and admiration between members of their families. The scene in which Abigail is given instructions to enter the nunnery feigning Christianity has been decried by Rabbi David Philipson. "If there is one aspect of the Jewish life that kept itself pure it is the home life; and to represent the Jew, as this play does, as giving such counsel to his daughter is preposterous."[43]

Rabbi Philipson also considers Marlowe's having chosen the name, Barabas.

> It seems to me that even the name Barabas was chosen with a purpose; for that name recalled to the Christian populace the thief in whose stead Christ was crucified, and would be more apt than any other, with the possible exception of Judas Iscariot, to arouse the wrath of the masses.[44]

In treatment of the actual structure of the play, Marlowe begins brilliantly, but sustains this only through the first two acts. The last three acts are not on the same level unfortunately. If this same surging power and unwavering depth had continued throughout the play, *The Jew of Malta* doubtlessly would have ranked with Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice*.[45]

SHAKESPEARE, *THE MERCHANT OF VENICE*, AND SHYLOCK

Even though the hanging of Dr. Lopez had little to do with the original production of *The Jew of Malta*, it seems to have had direct effect upon Shakespeare's having written *The Merchant of Venice*. From all accounts, *The Jew of Malta* was overwhelmingly received and subsequently, overwhelmingly popular. Marlowe's play was produced by Lord Strange's Company. The play was revived after the execution of Dr. Lopez. Shakespeare evidently turned out his contribution, *The Merchant of*

Venice in order to meet his competition.

Examination of classic literature produces criticism which is diverse and complex. Attempts have been made to read things into the various texts which were never intended by the playwright—at least a composite whole would lead one into a complete quandary. The case of *Hamlet* will probably always be exploited. Did Hamlet really feign madness or was he actually mad? Did the ghost of Hamlet's father really appear, or was this an outgrowth of imagination? Was Hamlet strong and calculating in his method of revenge, or was he weak and too hesitant? Whatever the case, Hamlet does not stand alone in the scrutinizing eyes of the scholars. One of the most controversial of Shakespeare's characters is Shylock in *The Merchant of Venice.*

Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice* was first registered on July 22, 1598. It was probably presented that same year.[46] The sources for this have been established fairly well.

> In truth he combines two stories, that of the three caskets, related in the collection of tales known as the *Gesta Romanorium* and that of the Pound of Flesh. This latter story was old, and had appeared in many forms. The first mention we can find of the flesh story was in Hindoo mythology.[47]

When the *Merchant of Venice* was first produced, the character of Shylock was probably one of an uproariously funny and grotesque Jewish villain. It was probably an interpretation that thrilled the Elizabethans. They may have hissed at this comic villain. It does not seem likely that any other interpretation was conceived. But what actually was Shakespeare's intention?

Elmer Edgar Stoll seems to be the greatest supporter of the original interpretation.

> By all devices, then, of Shakespeare's dramaturgy Shylock is proclaimed, as by the triple repetition of a crier, to be the villian, though a comic villian or butt. Nor does the poet let pass any of the prejudices of that day which might highten this impression. A miser, a money lender, a Jew — all three had from time immemorial been objects of popular detestation and ridicule, whether in life or on the stage.[48]

Mr. Stoll further argues that Shylock is not the central character —otherwise Shakespeare would not have dropped him out before the end of the fourth act. Mr. Stoll maintains that the love interests are the component parts of the major plot. He sees Shylock as the most suffering money-lender in all stories dealing with the Pound of Flesh theme. He believes that Shakespeare 'pulls no punches' in his treatment and constant avowal of the villain throughout the script.[49] Before drawing any conclusions it would be well to examine another concept of the Shylock character.

Mr. Hosmer, upon seeing a production of *The Merchant of Venice* with the part of Shylock interpreted by Heinrich Heine, made the following comment:

> When I saw *The Merchant of Venice* given at Drury Lane, there stood behind me a beautiful pale English lady, who at the end of the fourth act wept earnestly, and cried out several times: 'The poor man is wronged. The poor man is wronged.' . . . Truly, with the evception of Portia, Shylock is the most respectable personage in the whole play. The domestic affections appear in him most touchingly.[50]

"The conception of a Shylock wronged and more sinned against than sinning was first so portrayed by Sir Henry Irving."[51] These opposite interpretations of the character of Shylock represent the crux of the argument centering around the most significant controversial issue within the play. Did Shakespeare have enough genius and perception to see beyond his fellowmen? It seems highly possible

to say at this point, and to prove, that he did. Certainly anyone who has read, or seen a production of *The Merchant of Venice*, will long remember the character of Shylock. In Shylock, Shakespeare has rounded out a figure that is unforgettable and to some unequaled. It is true Shakespeare used two stories combined into one plot, but Shylock cannot be excluded! The following conclusions are from the writings of George Brandes, Shakespearian critic in Germany between 1895 and 1900.

> Shylock was more ludicrous than terrible to the Elizabethan public—and doubly despised as an extortionate usurer. Shakespeare did not share these prejudices, but had to add the enforced conversion that shocks modern readers. Respect for personal conviction, when it conflicted with orthodoxy, did not exist in Shakespeare's time. It is astounding how much right in wrong and humanity in inhumanity Shakespeare has imported to Shylock.[52]

The importance of Shylock to the play has been summed up in the following statements:

> To the superficial reader Shylock has too often seemed nothing but the impersonation of greed and malice. The story of the bond, and of the lady of Belmont, who donned the garb of a lawyer and rescued the surety, probably attracted the author to this theme. The love part of the play must of course be secondary, since Bassanio is a spendthrift, and cannot be made much of a hero. Portia must be clever rather than—like her namesake in the *Julius Caesar* — great, or we shall regret the match. So after Shylock, Antonio appears to hold the author's artistic intention, and furnishes the work its name.[53]

Further, the evidence supports a wronged Shylock. Rabbi Philipson enumerates some interesting facts. 1) Shylock is given, by Shakespeare, an opportunity to relate the prevailing prejudices of the time. 2) He is allowed to relate and recall the injuries and injustices done unto him and his people. 3) He is given the upper hand in all arguments—save the culminating portion of the play pertaining to the Pound of Flesh.[54] At this point it might appear that the case of Shylock as a more sympathetic character has a good foundation. One should not disregard the theory presented by Mr. Stoll (above), however. There are many critics who are in agreement with Mr. Stoll. Consequently, a state of confusion persists.

This writer believes that the case of Shylock must be decided by the individual. It is impossible to overlook the history stated above. It is likewise impossible to believe that Shakespeare was incapable of rendering a little justice where so much wrong had been evinced. Possibly the best answer for the confusion was seen by Ten Brink, a German critic in 1893. Ten Brink said,

> He Shylock has come too close to us; we have learned to know too intimately the grounds of his hatred. The decision effected by a lucky accident is out of harmony with his grand passion. We crave to feel that his fate is a necessity and his ruin inevitable—and here is the discordance. The suit about the pound of flesh embraces a profound thought—*Summum jus, summa injuria*—and the decision is poetically just in the abstract. Comedy often required abstraction to produce unalloyed enjoyment: plans that have aroused our interest can only succeed at the expense of others. But Shakespeare is incapable of abstraction, because he draws characters with equal sympathy and objectivity. Thus there is often something unsatisfactory in his denouncement of his comedies, which only his humour makes endurable—humour which presupposes spiritual emancipation from self.[55]

As far as the characters and the play's structure are concerned, Shakespeare has done a confusingly magnificent job! All of the characters are well rounded and understandable, even though their importance to the story and their interpretation must necessarily be left to the individual. The closeness of father and daughter is a trait of Shylock even as it was of

Barabas. It is also an important thing to remember, at this point, that the Jew (during the time and preceding the time of Elizabeth) was a villain and had to be reckoned with as such. The critics, generally, have also disagreed with the structure of the play. Mr. Logan Pearsall Smith commented, "*The Merchant of Venice* is not for many lovers of Shakespeare one of their favorite plays. Its theatricality and stage effectiveness put a cheat upon them which they afterwards resent."[56] Still another critic has stated, "We may recognize generically a stage of preparation and a period of maturity and strength. *Twelfth Night* and *The Merchant of Venice* mark this zenith of technique in the comedies."[57]

COMPARING *THE MERCHANT OF VENICE* WITH *THE JEW OF MALTA*

Both Barabas and Shylock seem to be the victims of the times. They are victims only in the fact that they both have gold and covetousness of wealth as their guiding principles. Both seek revenge from those who have done them wrong. Barabas in being 'robbed' of his wealth determines to get even with all those people around him who have caused him such 'pain'. Shylock's revenge is a little more real and understandable in that he has been wronged merely because he is a Jew and a moneylender. Shylock's desire for revenge stems in great measure from the treatment he has received at the hands of the Christians in the past. In one of his first speeches to Antonio, he says:

> Signior Antonio, many a time and oft,
> In the Rialto, you have rated me
> About my moneys and my usances.
> Still have I borne it with a patient shrug;
> For suffering in the badge of all our tribe;
> You call me misbeliever, cut-throat dog,
> And spit upon my Jewish gaberdine,
> And all for use of that which is mine own.
> Well, then, it now appears you need my help:
> Go to, then; you come to me and you say,
> 'Shylock, we would have moneys;' you say so;
> You, that did void your rheum upon my beard,
> And foot me, as you spurn a stranger cur
> Over your threshold: moneys is your suit.
> What should I say to you? Should I not say,
> 'Hath a dog money? Is it possible
> A cur can lend three thousand ducats?' 'Or
> Shall I bend low and, in a bondman's key,
> With bated breath, and whispering humbleness,
> Say this:
> 'Fair sir, you spit on me on Wednesday last;
> You spurned me such a day; another time
> You called me—dog; and for these courtesies
> I'll lend you thus much moneys?'[58]

Barabas' approach to the revenge element was less humanized by Marlowe. Witness the following lines:

> Ay, fare you well.
> See the simplicity of these base slaves,
> Who, for the villains have not wit themselves,
> Think me to be a senseless lump of clay
> That will with every water wash to dirt.
> No, Barabas is born to better chance,
> And fram'd of finer mold than common men,
> That measure naught but by the present time.
> A reaching thought will search his deepest wits,
> And cast with cunning for the time to come;
> For evils are apt to happen every day.[59]

Shakespeare's acquaintance with Barabas cannot be denied. As stated above, *The Jew of Malta* was presented by Lord Strange's Company from 1592-1593. Shakespeare, himself, was connected with this same company from 1588-1592.[60] There are a number of similarities between the two scripts as far as

lines are concerned. After Barabas has been identified as the murderer in *The Jew of Malta,* he cries, "Let me have law, For none of this can prejudice my life."[61] Similar to this in the court room scene (*Merchant of Venice*), we hear Shylock say, "I crave the law, The penalty and forfeit of my bond."[62] It seems hardly necessary at this point to indicate additional lines of similarity between the two scripts. The fact that Shakespeare did know Marlowe's play, and did attempt to make Shylock more humanized, seems to be summed up quite well in the following lines pertaining to Jessica. "I have a daughter; Would any of the stock of Barabas had been her husband rather than a Christian."[63]

The greatest difference in the two works, therefore, seems to be in the fact that Barabas is, from the outset, a complete Machiavellian character. He cannot be humanized. He cannot gain the complete revenge he seeks, otherwise there would be no terminal scene within the play. His destiny was completely and unwaveringly determined by the playwright. Barabas could never be sympathetic, and if an attempt were made to humanize him he would be lost. He fits into the realm of Elizabethan thought and Elizabethan prejudices. In today's world when tolerance is the keynote of the best literary pursuits, Marlowe's Barabas is doomed to a fate which he richly deserves.

Shylock, on the other hand, was treated more kindly by Shakespeare. Whether or not this was purposely written into the script will long be a subject of debate. At any rate *The Merchant of Venice* has not been doomed to the same fate. If one interpretation fails, the other survives. It is possible, of course, that Shakespeare attempted to make his Shylock a Machiavel—if that be the original intention, he failed completely. The revenge element and the means of attaining this revenge are counter-balanced by the suffering Shylock had undergone. The fact that this was not Shakespeare's intention must have been the reason he had Shylock make reference to what he (probably Shakespeare in this instance) thought of the scoundrel Barabas.

The Jew of Malta and *The Merchant of Venice* represent the great difference and the dividing line between literature which is merely far above the average, and literature which is truly Classic and universal in its approach. Shakespeare's works can be adjusted to fit all times, whereas Marlowe's fall short from attaining this goal.

FOOTNOTES

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[4]Lady Magnus, *Outlines of Jewish History* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1890), p. 166.

[5]Hosmer, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

[6]Magnus, *loc. cit.*

[7]Margolis, and Marx, *loc. cit.*

[8]Jacob R. Marcus, *The Jew in the Medieval World* (Cincinnati: The Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 1938), p. 121.

[9]*Ibid.*, pp. 121-125.

[10]Donald G. Mitchell, *English Lands, Letters, and Kings* (From Celt to Tudor) (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1889)), pp. 119-121.

[11]Magnus, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

[12]*Ibid.*, p. 168.

[13]*Ibid.*, p. 169.

[14]Solomon Grayzel, *A History of the Jews* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1947), p. 343.

[15]Hosmer, *loc. cit.*

[16]Grayzel, *op. cit.*, pp. 343-344.

[17]Magnus, *op. cit.*, p. 171.
[18]Margolis and Marx, *op. cit.*, p. 388.
[19]Magnus, *op. cit.*, p. 172.
[20]Margolis, *op. cit.*, p. 388-389.
[21]*Ibid.*, p. 389.
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[30]Abrahams, *op. cit.*, pp. 226-227.
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[32]Hosmer, *op. cit.*, p. 201.
[33]Edwyn R. Bevan and Charles Singer, *The Legacy of Israel* (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1928), p. 147.
[34]Edward D. Coleman, *The Jew in English Drama* (New York: New York Public Library, 1943), p. x. An Annotated Bibliography.
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[37]Coleman, op. cit., p. VII.
[38]Bennett, *loc. cit.*
[39]C. F. Tucker Brooke, *The Works of Christopher Marlowe* (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1910), p. 233.
[40]Coleman, *op. cit.*, p. 34.
[41]Hosmer, *op. cit.*, p. 203.
[42]Bennett, *op. cit.*, pp. 13-14.
[43]Rabbi David Philipson, *The Jew in English Fiction* (Cincinnati: The Robert Clarke Company, 1903), p. 25.
[44]*Ibid.*, p. 23.
[45]A. H. Bullen, *The Works of Christopher Marlowe* (London: Ballantyne, Hanson and Co., 1884), I, XI.
[46]William Allen Neilson and Charles Hill, *op. cit.*, p. 115.
[47]Philipson, *op. cit.*, p. 35.
[48]Elmer Edgar Stoll, *Shakespeare Studies* (New York: G. E. Stechert & So., 1942), p. 269.
[49]*Ibid.*, pp. 362-363.
[50]Hosmer, *op. cit.*, 206-207.
[51]Coleman, *op. cit.*, p. viii.
[52]Augustus Ralli, *A History of Shakespearian Criticism* (London: Oxford University Press, 1932), p. 142.
[53]L. A. Sherman, *What is Shakespeare?* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1902), pp. 326-327.
[54]Philipson, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-53.
[55]Rali, *op. cit.*, p. 107.
[56]Logan Pearsall Smith, *On Reading Shakespeare* (New York: Harcourt, Bruce and Company, 1933), p. 84.
[57]Sherman, *op. cit.*, p. 288.
[58]William Shakespeare, *The Merchant of Venice*, I, i, 107-130.
[59]Christopher Marlowe, *The Jew of Malta*, I, ii, 214-224.
[60]Neilson and Hill, *op. cit.*, p. x.
[61]Marlowe, *op. cit.*, V, i, 38-39.
[62]Shakespeare, *op. cit.*, IV, i, 206-207.
[63]Shakespeare, *op. cit.*, IV, i, 294-296.

The Speech of Young Stutterers in the Presence of Their Mother

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Many speech correctionists stress the importance of the mother's influence on the speech behavior of the young stutterer. If this influence is actually a strong one it seems logical to suggest that their speech would be different when talking with their mother present (Condition 1) than when their mother was not present (Condition 2). The findings of this experiment question the importance of the mother's influence.

Several studies (1,2,4) have stressed the importance of the parents' influence upon the speech behavior of the young stutterer. If this influence is a strong one, it seems logical to suggest that a stuttering child's speech behavior might be different when talking in the presence of one of his parents than when the parent was not present. This study is an attempt to determine if such a difference does exist.

Procedure

The subjects were 14 children who had been diagnosed by their mothers as stutterers. The average age of the group was approximately seven and a half years. Seven of the children were male and seven were female.[1]

Tape recordings were made of the speech of each child under two conditions. Under Conditions 1, the child told a story in response to the seventh and eighth cards of the Children's Apperception Test with the mother and the experimenter (the author) in the room.

[1]The ratio between sexes for incidence of stuttering is usually reported at about 4:1 or 5:1. The author cannot explain (except on a chance basis) why the ratio should be different in this experiment since the stutterers were used in the order that they came into the clinic.

The mother sat facing the child and the experimenter stood off to one side while the child was telling his stories. Condition 2 was identical with Condition 1 except that a speech correction student replaced the mother. Three different speech correction students were used throughout the course of the experiment. Speech of one-half the children was recorded under Condition 1 first and then under Condition 2; for the other half the order of the conditions was reversed. Thus, two sets of recordings were available for analysis. In one set the child had told stories with a stranger (the author) and the mother present in the room, and in the other set the child had told stories with two strangers (the author and the speech correctionist) present. All recordings were made at the time of the initial diagnostic interview of the parent with the author and before he had counselled the parents about their child's problem.

TABLE I
RESULTS OF ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE TESTING DIFFERENCE BETWEEN MEAN NUMBER OF NON-FLUENCIES

Source of variation	df	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F
Between-Subjects	13	4308.28		
AB (b)	1	504.16		
error (b)	12	3804.12		
Within Subjects	14	2036.42		
A Conditions (C)	1	1.45	1.45	.088*
B Order (O)	1	61.38		
error (w)	12	2073.59	172.79	
Total	27	6344.70		

*F=ms a/ms error (w), F .05 (df 1 and 12) = 4.75

The recordings were analyzed in terms of four measures: (a) number of non-fluencies per 100 words; (b) number of stutterings per 100 words; (c) overall severity of stuttering; (d) number of words spoken.

Results

Non-fluencies. Criteria given by Johnson (4) were used in deciding whether a non-fluency had occurred. According to these criteria, a non-fluency is an injection (sound, syllable, word, phrase), revision, incomplete phrase, broken word, or prolonged sound. The mean number of non-fluencies per 100 words with the mother present in the room was 17.06 and without the mother was 17.48. A type II analysis of variance (6) was used to evaluate the difference between the group means (see table I). The value of F is less than 1.00 and is not significant at the five percent level. It is interesting to note that the number of non-fluencies of the children under both conditions closely approximates that reported by Johnson (4) for 42 children who had been brought to speech clinics and who had been diagnosed as stutterers by their parents. The mean number per 100 words of non-fluencies reported by him for this group is 16.09 as compared with 6.52 for a group of 42 children who had not been diagnosed as stutterers by their parents.

Number of stutterings. The recordings were played back to a graduate student in speech correction who marked what she believed to be the moments of stuttering. The mean number of stutterings

TABLE II
RESULTS OF ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE TESTING DIFFERENCE BETWEEN MEAN NUMBER OF STUTTERING

Source of variation	df	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F
Between Subjects	13	2060.25		
AB (b)	1	497.38		
error (b)	12	1562.87		
Within Subjects	14	228.73		
A Conditions (C)	1	27.06	27.06	1.62*
B Order (O)	1	1.42		
error (w)	12	200.25	16.68	
Total	27	2288.98		

*F=ms A/ms error (w), F .05 (df 1 and 12) = 4.75

TABLE III
RESULTS OF ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE TESTING DIFFERENCE BETWEEN MEAN OVERALL SEVERITY RATINGS

Source of variation	df	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F
Between Subjects	13	17.38		
AB (b)	1	14.23		
error (b)	12	3.15		
Within Subjects	14	8.21		
A Conditions (C)	1	.05	.05	.07*
B Order (O)	1	.56		
error (w)	12	7.60	.63	
Total	27	25.59		

*F=ms a/ms error (w), F .05 (df 1 an 12) = 4.75

marked for Condition 1 (mother present) was 14.93 and for Condition 2 (mother absent) was 12.46. The results of the type II analysis of variance are given in table 2. The value of F is 1.62 and is not significant at the five percent level.

Overall severity of stuttering. The overall severity of stuttering was rated by the senior author according to the Lewis-Sherman (5) procedure which consisted, in this experiment, of given a rating in terms of stuttering severity on a five-point scale every ten seconds. The senior author's reliability coefficient in doing this kind of rating has been established in a previous experiment by Sherman (7) as .93. The mean overall severity of stuttering under Condition 1 (mother present) was 2.59 and under Condition 2 (mother absent) was 2.52. The results of the type II analysis of variance are given in Table VI. The value of F is less than 1.00 and is not significant at the five percent level.

Number of words spoken. The mean number of words spoken with the mother present was 136.4 and without the mother present was 132.7. The results of the type II analysis are given in Table IV. The value of F is less than 1.00 and is not significant at the five percent level.

Discussion and Conclusion

If the experimental situations can be regarded as valid examples of how the children speak when their mothers are present and when they are not (and if the speech measures used are of sufficient validity), then the results would appear to show that the mother's

TABLE IV
RESULTS OF ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE TESTING DIFFERENCE BETWEEN MEAN NUMBER OF WORDS SPOKEN

Source of variation	df	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F
Between Subjects	13	91,981.86		
AB (b)	1	2,160.57		
error (b)	12	89,731.29		
Within Subjects	14	10,869.00		
A Condition (C)	1	88.86	88.86	.11*
B Order (O)	1	960.57		
error (w)	12	9819.57	818.29	
Total	27	102,760.86		

*F=ms A/ms error (w), F .05 (df 1 and 12) = 4.75

presence does not influence the child's stuttering. This suggests that the mother's attitudes and evaluations may not have as strong an influence upon the child's speech behavior as has hitherto been suspected, at least at the time that the child is brought to a speech clinic.

Summary

The purpose of the experiment was to determine whether there was a measurable difference between the speech of the young stutterer when talking with his mother present and his speech when talking with his mother not present. Tape recordings were made of the speech of 14 young children who had been diagnosed by their mothers as stutterers. These recordings, made with the mother present (Condition 1) and with the mother not present (Condition 2) were analyzed in terms of four measures: (a) number of non-fluencies per 100 words; (b) number of stutterings per 100 words; (c) overall severity of stuttering; (d) number of words spoken. None of the four measures showed statistically significant differences between Condition 1 and Condition 2. This result indicates, within the limits of the experiment, that a mother's attitudes and evaluations may not have as strong an influence upon the young stutterer's speech behavior as has previously been suggested.

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IT'S MORE FUN TO KNOW

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1. Is the appeal to fear an effective motivation for attitude change?

SOMETIMES!

Berkowitz and Cottingham in the *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 1960, 60, p. 42 point out that when interest in and relevance of the subject to the audience are slight, strong fear appeal is more effective than minimal fear appeal.

2. Is talk really cheap?

YES!

Dun's Review shows that the installation of an effective plan of communication in a warehouse business enabled two trucks to do the work previously requiring five and with 40 per cent less truck traffic in the aisles. See *Dun's Review*, January 1960, p. 48.

3. Is a fanatic less apt to change his mind than a person with a moderate opinion?

NO!

Persons who take extreme positions on an attitude scale may change their attitudes more than persons who hold moderate opinions. See Knower, *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 1936, 20, p. 124.

4. Can we measure what a word means to a person?

YES!

Osgood, Suci, and Tannenbaum in the *Measurement of Meaning* have described a procedure which is very useful in quantifying some of the characteristics of meaning.

BOOKS: On Collections of Speeches

Richard Murphy
University Of Illinois

Editor's Note: This review article is the seventh of a series to appear in this Journal. The author changes with each issue. Each article reveals selected books and monographs as they relate to a specified area. Interested contributors should contact the Editor.

No one reads old speeches any more than old sermons. The industrious historian is compelled to explore them for the purposes of political history, but it is a dreary and reluctant pilgrimage. The more brilliant and telling they were at the time, the more dolorous the quest. The lights are extinguished; the flowers are faded; the voice seems cracked across the empty space of years—it sounds like a message from a remote telephone; one wonders if that can really be the scene that fascinated and inspired. Was this the passage we thought so thrilling, this the epigram that seemed to tingle, this the peroration that provoked such a storm of cheers? It all seems as flat as decanted champagne. (*Lord Rosebery,* Lord Randolph Churchill [1906].)

It is with Heroes and god-inspired men that I . . . would far rather converse, in what dialect soever they speak! Great, ever fruitful: profitable for reproof, for encouragement, for building up in manful purposes and works, are the words of those that in their day were men. (*Thomas Carlyle,* Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches [1845].)

A man's public speeches may sometimes be as revealing as his private papers. (*K. J. Fielding,* The Speeches of Charles Dickens [1960].)

One may agree with Rosebery or with Carlyle on the value of speech collections. Whatever the truth of the matter, collections of individual speakers, and anthologies of speeches come out regularly. In this review, in addition to general comments, nine new collections which have appeared in the last nine months are noted.

The great age in speech collections in America came at the turn of the century. In 1899, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court David Brewer brought out *The World's Best Orations,* in ten volumes, and it went through a number of editions. Thomas Buchanan Reed edited *Modern Eloquence,* fifteen volumes, 1900-1903. Chauncey M. Depew assembled *The Library of Oratory,* fifteen volumes, in 1902. William Jennings Bryan collected *The World's Famous Orations,* ten volumes, in 1906. *Orations of British Orators,* two volumes, was done by Julian Hawthorne in 1900. Even the *Christian Herald* anthologized, and issued *Masterpieces of American Eloquence,* 1900, with an introduction by Julia Ward Howe. Since that period collections have appeared regularly, but not in such number or extent. Houston Peterson's *A Treasury of the World's Great Speeches* (1954), is an example.

Speeches are issued less frequently than other literary types. The latest Everyman's Library cata-

logue lists fifty-nine books of essays, only four of oratory; the current World's Classics catalogue of 500 volumes lists only ten of speeches, and carries no heading for the form. But speeches do come out, and do get circulated, whether read or not. Theodore H. White reports in *Saturday Review* (XLIII,7) that during the Los Angeles Democratic convention "three of the most important bookstores sold completely out of Kennedy's *Strategy of Peace*, two sold completely out of Stevenson's *Putting First Things First*."

Comment on collections of speeches can cover a vast range. Are the speeches worth reporting? Who wrote them? (Is there more of Hamilton and Madison in Washington's *Farewell* than of Washington?) Are the speeches presented in a format to facilitate reading? And so on! Because one of the books here reviewed is so superb in one aspect, the nature of the text, comments here are mainly directed to that concern.

As one looks at a text of a speech, he might well ask, *what* text? Speeches are more often than not inadequately reported. Speakers and editors take out and add. Rosebery notes (p.102) that many offensive passages in Lord Randolph's speeches were expurgated in printed versions. Speech texts are rarely what a speaker said. More often they are what he intended to say, or wished he had said. The *Congressional Record* may be so altered that a passage is not even a reasonable facsimile of what was actually said. Too limited was the late Senator Richard Neuberger's witticism that the *Record* offered the only opportunity for a speaker to say, "I wish I had said that," and then say it. The text may be a recollection in tranquility done by someone other than the speaker; generations of Americans have read and recited Patrick Henry on liberty or death as rendered by William Wirt four decades after the occasion.

Periodically, of course, there is concern about accuracy of text. A candidate for office quotes a rival candidate, who claims he was misquoted, and so on. What were those words Senator Joseph McCarthy uttered on that fateful day, February 9, 1950, at Wheeling, West Virginia? Did the Senator say he had in his "hand a list of two hundred and five" persons in the State Department, a "list of names that were made known to the Secretary of State as being members of the Communist party" (Earl Mazo, *Richard Nixon*, New York, 1959, p. 140)? The Senator could not remember what he said, and apparently there was no text. One of our editors, Barnet Baskerville, has raised this question in *The Chapa Letter* (April 11, 1960): "Having tried unsuccessfully for many months to locate a copy of Joe McCarthy's 'Twenty Years of Treason' speech, we turn to our colleagues for assistance."

But these things settle down. In one form or another, a speech gets printed. It gets anthologized. Anthologies beget anthologies. Eventually some earnest graduate student in speech makes, in current jargon, a "rhetorical analysis" of "a specific speech, delivered to a specific audience, on a specific occasion, for a specific purpose," showing, among other thngs, how the "speaker" adapted to his audience, without the student's having the slightest notion of what he is working on.

When Carlyle turned to the texts of Cromwell's speeches, he found them in pitiful shape: "certainly no such agglomerate of opaque confusions, printed and reprinted: of darkness on the back of darkness, thick and three fold; is known to me elsewhere in the history of things spoken or printed

by human creatures." Some of this confusion, he thought, came from neglect: "Of these speeches, all except one . . . I have to believe myself, not very exultingly, to be the first actual reader for nearly two Centuries past." So he published the texts, in three volumes, and has himself been edited ever since (see the edition by S. C. Lomas, London, 1904), especially by those who objected to Carlyle's personal interjections in the texts, as though he were a heckler present on each occasion.

With the problem of the texts on our mind, let us look at the books on the list. Three of the collections are by candidates for the 1960 Presidential nominations. In March was published Governor Stevenson's *Putting First Things First,* containing two articles and six speeches, written in 1959. The book was assembled by the publishers, and is without preface or commentary by the author. This is the sixth regular collection of Stevenson's speeches, not counting such special issues as a fine edition of his 1952 welcoming and acceptance speeches at the Chicago Democratic convention (Chicago: Americana House, 1952) or *Adlai's Almanac* (New York: Henry Schuman, 1952). The nature of the speech texts is not indicated; a note (p. 27) says one speech "has been somewhat abbreviated." The book is issued also in a paperback edition.

In April was published Senator Kennedy's *The Strategy of Peace,* a collection of speeches made from 1954-1958. Later printings of the book include what a jacket ribbon calls "Senator Kennedy's historic speech of June 14 [1960], presenting his 12-point foreign policy program." The speech has been inserted before the title page. The author has supplied prefaces for sections and transitional statements. The editor, Allan Nevins, has an introduction, and footnotes to the speeches. He denounces "the stump speech tradition . . . the tradition that it did not much matter that a political leader had nothing to say if he just said it with the magnetism of James G. Blaine, the grace of Chauncey M. Depew, or the spellbinder rhetoric of Theodore Bilbo." This is an odd statement to come from a distinguished historian who has drawn heavily on speeches (and letters) in his historical works, but he is determined: "The strength of that tradition explains why few volumes of American political speeches have been published, and fewer still read. Most speeches were not worth publishing or reading" (p. ix). Evidently the situation has changed, at least so far as Senator Kennedy's speeches are concerned. The texts are not identified as to source or nature. The inserted speech, which was originally a prepared statement made in the Senate, follows the *Congressional Record* except for changes in punctuation and paragraphing, and deletion of a paragraph and some phrases. The last section of the book is an interview of Senator Kennedy by John Fischer, editor of *Harper's Magazine,* about foreign policy.

In July was issued Vice President Nixon's collection of speeches, *The Challenge We Face.* The period covered is from 1956 to March, 1960. The speeches have been "compiled and edited . . . by members of the editorial staff of the McGraw-Hill Book Co. . . . [with the] Vice President's full authorization" (p. vii). The last section of the book consists of speeches and papers covering Mr. Nixon's Russian trip. An edition of the "Kitchen Debate" with Mr. Krushchev, July 24, 1959, is included.

The book is intended to supply continuity to Mr. Nixon's views,

perhaps in answer to charges such as Governor Rockefeller's that it was difficult to tell where the Vice President stood. This would explain why the speeches are composites. One, for example, on "Foreign Aid," is assembled from thirteen speeches given from California to Atlantic City to London. Sources of speeches are not given. The "Debate" is a composite of selections from four news services. Royalties will be given to charity (p. vii).

For twenty-two years A. Craig Baird has edited the annual collection, *Representative American Speeches.* Professor Baird has stuck to his story that the speeches are *representative*—not "the best," not "the worst," but important, and *representative.* One of his main problems through the years has been the text. He has sought to get texts of representative speeches rather than publishing speeches for which texts were readily available. He has used a variety of sources—his own recordings, New York *Times, Congressional Record,* copy supplied by the speaker or the sponsoring agency, etc. By March of each year, the editor has selected from among the thousands of American speeches, and has supplied copy. There was little time for collating texts. The best available text has been used, and the nature of the text has been sometimes noted. The editor has refrained from implying the text is a true copy of what was actually said.

With the issue of 1958-1959, Professor Baird retired as editor of the series he founded. The new editor is Lester Thonssen. All those interested in collections of contemporary speeches will want to thank H. W. Wilson Company for continuing *Representative American Speeches.* Editor Thonssen tells us "no major changes" are planned.

Three of the books on the list are anthologies of American speeches grouped in periods of history. *A Treasury of Great American Speeches* is edited by a journalist and public relations man; from 1929-1949 Mr. Hurd was in the New York *Times* Washington bureau, and he is now working in industrial promotions with his own firm. Excerpts from a hundred speeches, beginning with John Winthrop (1645) and ending with Carl Sandburg (1959) are grouped in historical periods and given in journalistic fashion. Each speech is reported as though in a newspaper of the day, and a sequel of events following the speech is given. The book is illustrated. Texts are not identified in any way.

Selected American Speeches on Basic Issues contains nineteen speeches grouped in three epochs. The editors have paired speeches where possible—Calhoun and Webster on the Constitution, Woodrow Wilson and Robert M. Lafollette on war with Germany. The designation in the title, 1850-1950, is curious, since only two speeches after 1919 are given, and those are of 1939 and 1941. Except for an incidental reference, the texts are not identified in any way.

American Forum contains twenty-six speeches from Patrick Henry to William Jennings Bryan. There will be a second volume to bring the collection to date. The speeches are grouped in eleven headings of "basic historical issues," and detailed descriptions of the periods preface the speeches in each group. The speeches, say the editors, were "exhumed . . . from crumbling pamphlets, from yellowing newspapers, from legislative debates and hearings, and from journals." Most of the speeches and sources are rather standard, however. Texts are carefully documented as to source,

but the nature of the text is not treated.

With these volumes and the historical collections now in print, such as *American Speeches* by W. M. Parrish and Marie Hochmuth (1954), and A. Craig Baird's *American Public Addresses: 1740-1952* (1956), the reader of American speech anthologies is now well supplied. But the situation for British speeches is not so fortunate. That little standby, Edgar R. Jones' *Selected English Speeches from Burke to Gladstone*, issued in World's Classics in 1913, and reissued in 1929 and 1940, has long since been out of print. The Everyman's collection, *British Historical and Political Orations from the 12th to the 20th Century*, first issued in 1915, and reprinted in 1924, 1933, and 1950, has been out of print for several years. It is good news, then, to learn a new edition of the Everyman's was issued in September and should be available in this country this month. The publishers say the book will be as before except for the addition of four wartime speeches of Winston Churchill. It will be interesting to see whether the texts have been improved. The first speech in the older editions, King Ethelbert's to Augustine on the Isle of Thanet, A.D. 597, appears without identification. Presumably the text is from Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, rendered from Anglo-Saxon into Latin and then back to Anglo-Saxon and into modern English. If so, it is something set down several hundred years after delivery. William of Normandy's speech before the battle of Hastings, 1066, is identified as coming from Henry of Huntingdon's *Chronicle*, but no more. Is this what William the Conqueror said on that memorable occasion and all that? Evidently not. Thomas Arnold, in his edition of the *Chronicle* (London, 1879, note a, p. 200), says "This speech of William before the battle is a rhetorical flight of Henry's own invention; no contemporary author mentions anything of the kind."

The Speeches of Charles Dickens is a model of what can be done in attention to texts of speeches. Dickens' collected speeches were first issued in 1870, in the London, John Camden Hotten edition. The collection was started before Dickens' death, and without his permission. Discovering the scheme, he had his solicitors send the editor a threatening letter. The year Dickens died the edition appeared. There was some question about the copyright law, and the estate and publishers were more interested in protecting the major literary rights, so the speeches were issued and re-issued without interference. For example, there is the Rosemary Library edition of 1936 (?), with preface by Bernard Darwin. The collection was, says Fielding, "inadequate, incomplete, badly transcribed, and often no more than a travesty of what Dickens actually said" (p. xv).

Fielding's collection includes corrected versions of the fifty-six speeches in the first issue, and others gathered from various sources, to make a total of 115. The editor notes that no such collection can ever be complete, and he thinks "a few more speeches might be found, but it is unlikely that more than a few ever will be" (p. xviii). The speeches are mainly occasional, made at banquets in his honor and at meetings of benevolent societies to raise money for worthy causes.

The speeches have been traced to all possible texts. At one point the editor had a textual variorum, but since publication of this seemed not very useful, he assembled for each speech a text which

seems nearest to what was actually said, and variations are noted. There are many complications in determining the texts. Dickens rarely wrote a speech before delivery; his favorite preparation was to take a walk in the country (p. xxi). At some of the banquets the reporters may have participated too fully in the festivities. For other speeches copy was supplied by penny-a-liners, and "even the best reporter is never completely accurate: words may be lost in laughter or applause, a neighbor may cough, or in the haste of transcribing a few words may be illegible, and mis-read by the compositor" (p xvii).

The editor says "an attempt has been made to keep the fact that they were speeches constantly before the reader." Mention of interjections, applause, laughter have been retained as "part of the vocal punctuation of the speeches, which were always addressed to the people who were present and never merely to reporters for republication" (p. xviii). Annotations are designed "to put the reader, as far as possible, on equal terms with a fairly well-informed contemporary, without distracting his attention from the speaker by too many notes" (p. v).

The Speeches of Charles Dickens is a contribution to Dickensiana and to the literature of speeches. It could have been done only by an editor who knew his man, had access to letters and papers and other supplementary materials, and who was determined that after the flowers had faded, and the crowds departed, there should be a rebottling of champagne of good vintage.

BOOKS REVIEWED

PUTTING FIRST THINGS FIRST. By Adlai E. Stevenson. New York: Random House, 1960; pp.115. $3.00.

THE STRATEGY OF PEACE. By John F. Kennedy; edited by Allan Nevins. New York: Harper, 1960; pp. 13 + xv + 233. $3.50.

THE CHALLENGES WE FACE. Edited and Compiled from the Speeches and Papers of Richard M. Nixon. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1960; pp. 253. $3.95.

REPRESENTATIVE AMERICAN SPEECHES: 1959-1960. Edited by Lester Thonssen. New York: H. W. Wilson, 1960. $2.50.

A TREASURY OF GREAT AMERICAN SPEECHES. Selected by Charles Hurd. New York: Hawthorn, 1959; pp. 366. $5.95.

SELECTED AMERICAN SPEECHES ON BASIC ISSUES (1850-1950). Edited by Carl G. Brandt and Edward M. Shafter, Jr. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1960; pp. ix + 426. Hard cover, $3.50; paper, $2.25.

AMERICAN FORUM: SPEECHES ON HISTORIC ISSUES, 1788-1900. Edited by Ernest J. Wrage and Barnet Baskerville. New York: Harper, 1960; pp. xii + 377. Text edition, $5.50.

BRITISH HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL ORATIONS from the 12th to the 20th CENTURY. Everyman's Library, 714. London: J. M. Dent; New York: E. P. Dutton, 1960. $1.95.

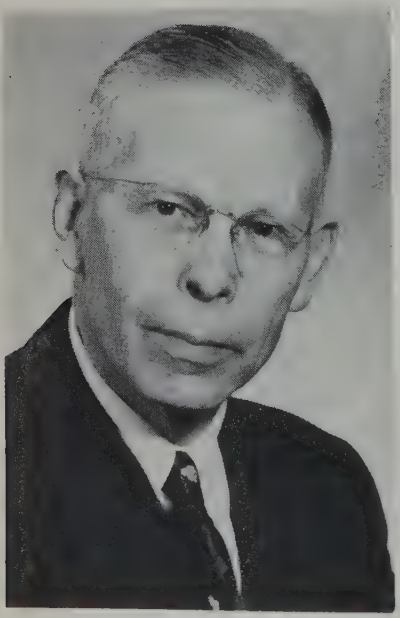
THE SPEECHES OF CHARLES DICKENS. Edited by K. J. Fielding. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960; pp. xxiv + 456. $7.41.

REFLECTIONS FROM THE RETIRED

NUMBER SEVEN

Security and Retirement

F. LINCOLN D. HOLMES



Frank Lincoln D. Holmes was born in Pelican Rapids, Minnesota, August 21, 1891. He attended rural schools, the Minot Public School (North Dakota) and Pillsbury Academy (Minnesota). The University of Minnesota granted him the undergraduate degree in 1921. He received the Master and Doctoral degree from the University of Wisconsin in 1925 and 1929, respectively. Dr. Holmes taught at the University of Minnesota from 1925 to 1932. After serving on the faculty at the University of Wisconsin during the academic year of 1934-35, he went to Illinois State Normal University where he remained until his retirement in 1959. As Chairman of the Department of Speech at Normal, "Link" Holmes contributed greatly to the development of one of the finest undergraduate departments in the mid-west. In 1940, Dr. Holmes authored a "Handbook of Voice and Diction."

My first year of retirement has been spent in the city of Phoenix. Last week, in a doctor's office, selected from those within a three-mile radius of my home, I was pronounced a "young sixty-nine in very good health", at my annual check-up.

This has been a very busy year. A year ago, the house, contracted for an August 1st completion, was in the process of being completed. The driveway and walks had not been laid, the slab for our patio was laid but the roof and screened walls had not been erected; the building debris had not been covered over as the lawn was leveled and prepared for seeding; and the meagre planting of shrubs and trees had not been done.

Since early February flowers of various kinds have been blooming; the blossoming of our four, newly planted, citrus trees is not evidenced by any fruit. The seventeen rose bushes of seven varieties have been generous with their blossoms. A lush rye grass winter lawn has been gradually, but surely, replaced by Bermuda and thousands of gallons of water have been distributed by

a variety of "rainmakers".

Chores other than gardening have been done. Drapery and curtain rods were installed in four of the rooms; commercial artisans took care of them for the other three. The woodwork: doors, cupboards, room divider, etc., were given a coat of wax. A non-descript window trim on two of the front windows has been replaced with shutters and potshelves matching the car port window adorned that way by the builders. To protect a flower bed from winter rains gutters were placed along a front section of the house where about a third of the roof surface sheds its water.

Much writing has been done but none scientific: narration and description have gone into letters to two sons, a brother, other relatives and friends, reporting the day-by day events of getting settled.

Four other activities have helped fill in the time left over from domestic responsibilities. I have had the good fortune to be accepted as a member of the adult choir of the First Presbyterian Church: rehearsal every Wednesday evening for two hours and singing in one or both of the Sunday morning services. The Annual Shakespearean Festival draws heavily on the available males who have the time and the urge to be something other than themselves. I was happy to be type-cast as Sir Thomas Erpingham in *Henry V,* the oldest man among the followers of Henry and historically reported to have commanded the English archers at the battle of Agincourt. This opportunity led to the meeting of many of the devoted workers who have kept the Phoenix Little Theatre alive and productive for thirty-nine seasons.

The recreational activity which has received a large portion of my spare time is golf. Since I resumed play on February 5th, I have taken more "strokes" than I was able to apply during the previous thirty-seven years I had been playing. Apparently I have been playing just to play for I have been unwilling, at least have not done so, to concentrate on the use of particular clubs or to take lessons. I have received many suggestions from the members of the foursomes I have joined on how to improve my game and, if I had adapted them, the professional players would have to look to their laurels and their prize money. I seemed to have attained one of those plateaux in learning as far as golf is concerned. But meeting men, women occasionally, provides a very interesting diversion.

The only professional work undertaken was nineteen tutoring sessions with a Phoenix College freshman whose college success was endangered by a reading disability. When her needs could be met by services available at the college, this opportunity for employment was readily surrendered.

Our choice of a retirement location has prevented exploring, and perhaps accepting, employment opportunities which would be both challenging and interesting.

Establishing our home in Phoenix has made it possible for Mrs. Holmes to continue teaching; whereas, at the same time, it makes accepting out-of-town employment by me impossible. Although I would like to continue teaching, for I feel that I could make a meagre contribution to the society which has been extremely kind to me, I do not regret the retirement choice which we made. I miss the invigorating climate of the academic environment. However, this community has much to offer the willing-to-be-active mind. The Book Reviews sponsored by Phoenix College are one example; the monthly productions of

The Phoenix Little Theatre are another. The Phoenix library, Art Center, and Heard Museum make available cultural contacts for anyone with time and an inquiring mind. Furthermore, the Valley of the Sun and its surrounding mountains provide intriguing panoramas changing from moment and from month to month.

To be happy in retirement a person must have security, which involves good health and a pleasant home, a sense of achievement, some of which comes from the past and presently through associating with people who are actively living, and a variety of interests so that the daily pattern will not become a never-changing rut.

As I view my situation at present, I feel that I am a most fortunate person. I have the comforting memories of my many students, colleagues, and friends. I am grateful that I receive a generous annuity so that I do not have to worry about maintaining the barricades that "keep the wolf from the door". I am assuming that the tax bill for 1960 will not overwhelm me. I have not worried about the department I helped to build; I have complete confidence in its personnel. I should have, I helped select most of them. I am certain that the college I served will continue to adapt its educational pattern to the needs of the society it serves and the young people who wish to be educated.

Forty-eight years ago on the 21st of August, I left a North Dakota homestead with an eighth grade education. Although for several recent years I did 20 push-ups each morning, I've never needed a body-building program; I had a good course in that when I helped clear the stones from my father's homestead. As a boy, I did not realize the debt I owed to my step-mother's first husband, an immigrant from Norway. He must have been an easy mark for the book salesman for a set of Washington Irving, two illustrated histories of the Civil War, and many other books which I do not now recall, gave me access to worlds which lay far beyond the prairies of North Dakota. I also owe a debt of gratitude to the many relatives and friends who encouraged me to "get an education". I owe even more to my departed maiden sister, first a teacher then a children's librarian, who was always willing to forego some need or luxury to loan me money when resources ran low.

I must conclude that I have the "stuff" from which a happy retirement is made.

IN MEMORIAM

HENRY LEE EWBANK

1893-1960

On August 13, 1960 the life of Henry Lee Ewbank closed after a brief, sudden illness. For thirty-three years, Professor Ewbank had guided students of public address and broadcasting at the University of Wisconsin and had served the University and his professional organizations in major positions of leadership. He was for six years executive secretary, 1924-30, and later president, 1934, of the National Association of Teachers of Speech, now the Speech Association of America. He appointed the original Committee on the History of American Public Address and served as a member and active assistant to W. N. Brigance in editing the first two volumes of the *History and Criticism of American Public Address*. From 1931-39 he was president of Delta Sigma Rho. He was first vice-president of the American Association of University Professors, 1946-48, just as a chronic illness began to restrict his activities in such organizations. From 1928, he was chairman of the University's Radio-Television Committee and, since 1945, of the Wisconsin Radio Council, so that the program of WHA and of much of the Wisconsin network of publicly owned stations was developed under his leadership. During his career, he taught briefly at the University of Southern California and the University of Hawaii.

Professor Ewbank was born at Guilford, Indiana, May 30, 1893. In 1917, he received his undergraduate degree at Ohio Wesleyan University, where he was Phi Beta Kappa and studied under Robert Fulton. At the University of Michigan, he studied with Thomas C. Trueblood, among others, and received the master's degree in 1924. For a decade, except for a term in the navy as ensign, 1918-19, he led the famous department at Albion College, coaching numerous speakers and debaters who have since distinguished themselves in our profession.

In a genial, affable, and often seemingly casual manner of teaching, "Heine" pointed the way to high scholarship in the study of public address. He directed studies of great variety which utilized historical, descriptive, and experimental methods and which have added substantially to our understanding of rhetorical principles, the practices of speakers, and the nature and behavior of audiences, particularly in America. In the sense that he found much good in unexpected places, he was strongly eclectic yet in the explanation of public address or its teaching no one was less likely to follow uncritically a new fad. This patient but quietly provocative manner and helpful advice in the hours of conversation, which he seemed to enjoy so well, led more doctoral students to complete dissertations under him than under any other professor in this field during these years.

On numerous occasions at professional meetings in speech and other fields of education, Professor Ewbank staunchly defended and helped the growth of the modern field of speech. His keen sense of the apt, usually succinctly and often humorously worded, made him welcome on many platforms. He was a practicing persuader of great skill and a discussant who would penetrate to the heart of questions, dissect them, and often make sage observations on the values he found.

Henry Lee Ewbank's death is a major loss to our profession; he was a wise leader, adviser, and friend. We extend our sympathies and express our gratitude for a fine life to Mrs. Ewbank, daughter Barbara, son Henry Lee, Jr. and to the grandchildren and great grandchild.

—George V. Bohman
Wayne State University

State Association News

John Tolch
University of Wisconsin

When a new editor assumes his duties, I suppose he always wonders if the map he has made fits the territory. I have tried to make a new map, but it is not a complete map. Perhaps it might be compared to something of the sort Columbus used. In the first place, it would seem that thirteen central states should be represented. There are only eight.

All of the presidents of the State Speech Associations were written to, save two, Kansas and North Dakota. The news from Kansas was sent by Mr. Lynn Osborn, and it was impossible to find an address for the North Dakota president.

Parts of the map which follow may be in error by the time you receive your journal. Particularly the listing of officers. Some associations elect their officers in the Fall about press time and some elect in the Spring. I would like to list your officers accurately, but that may take some doing to make them correspond with publication dates.

I am confident that important news from the associations never reaches this editor. For example, it seems to me that valuable committee work of the various associations should be reported in this column. The problem is, I don't know who you are or what you are doing.

As Editor, I would like to add details to the map other than strictly Association News. Therefore, after the Association News, there is a "Post Script." What goes into "Post Script" will depend in a large measure on items which are sent to me.

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ILLINOIS

Officers elected Nov., 1959:
Mr. B. F. Johnson, *President*
Homewood-Flossmoor H. S.
Flossmoor, Illinois
Mr. Ralph Micken, 1*st Vice-Pres.*
Univ. of Southern Illinois
Carbondale, Illinois
Mr. Earl Davis, 2*nd Vice-Pres.*
Thornton Fractional H. S.
Lansing, Illinois
Mr. Martin Cobin, *Sec.-Treas.*
Univ. of Illinois
Urbana, Illinois
Mr. Ralph McGee, *Editor*
"Speech News"
New Trier H. S.
Winnetka, Illinois

———

The theme for the Annual Convention is "How Can the Illinois Speech Association Serve You." A major part of the convention is to be an evaluation of the Association's objectives. The convention will be held on the Illinois State Normal University campus, November 4-5, 1960.

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A study committee was formed last fall to evaluate speech and drama contest rules in the Illinois State Speech Contests. Mr. Robert Mallary, Joliet Township H. S., is chairman.

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The Secondary School Curricu-

lum Committee has been revived under the chairmanship of Mr. William Buys, Southern Illinois University. The purpose of this committee is to develop curriculum guides for the state of Illinois.

Speech Correctionists, formerly members of the Illinois Speech Association, have formed a new association—The Illinois Speech and Hearing Association. They will hold their first convention in the Fall of 1960.

KANSAS

Officers elected April, 1960:
Mr. Gerald Ashen, *President*
Shawnee Mission No. H. S.
Merriam, Kansas
Mr. Francis Short, *Editor*
Kansas Speech Journal
Pittsburg State College

The annual conference of the Kansas Speech Association was held April 22-23 on the campus of the University of Wichita. The following resolutions were considered and voted upon.

A student membership plan was approved. Student membership costs .75 and includes a one year subscription to the *Kansas Speech Journal*.

Mr. Robert Gobetz and his students from Northeast Oklahoma A. and M. College presented a demonstration of *duet acting*. Following the demonstration, a committee was appointed to study this speech form as a possible addition to the festival programs in Kansas.

A suggested standard debate ballot for high school tournament use was presented by Mr. Dave Blackim, Russell, Kansas H. S. The ballot was referred to committee for further study.

The Kansas Speech Journal was increased from five to six issues for the coming year.

The 1961 conference will convene on the Kansas State College campus, Pittsburg.

MINNESOTA

Mr. Robert Wick, *President*
St. Cloud State College
St. Cloud, Minnesota
Mr. Orville A. Olson, *Vice Pres.*
Hibbing High School
Hibbing, Minnesota
Miss Marceline Erickson, *Sec.—Treas.*
Mankato State College
Mankato, Minnesota

The Minnesota Association of Teachers of Speech held their annual meeting October 20, 1960 in Minneapolis. The conference was held in conjunction with the Minnesota Educational Association.

Dr. Karl Robinson of Northwestern University spoke on "Improvement of Speech in the Secondary Schools". After his address, a group of panelists directed question to Dr. Robinson. Members of the panel were: Mr. Rowe Million, Mrs. Beatrice Schwieger, Mr. C. E. Davies, Mrs. Jean Peterson, and Mr. Frank Curry.

Mr. Donald Dedmon of St. Cloud College moderated a program on the topic: "The Debate Program in the Secondary Schools". Guest speakers were Sister Annerose, O.S.B., Mr. William Scherer, Mr. Robert W. Carlson, and Mr. Charles Caruson.

At the dinner meeting, Mr. John Bystrom, Hamlin University, spoke on the topic "Subject Matter and Educational Policy".

The Minnesota Association regularly sends a newsletter to its membership. There are 170 dues paying members which represents a 100 per cent increase over two years ago.

MISSOURI

Frances McCurdy, *President*
University of Missouri
Columbia, Missouri
Georgia Bowman, *Vice Pres.*
William Jewell College
Liberty, Missouri
Robert P. Friedman, *Exec. Sec.*
University of Missouri
Columbia, Missouri
Robert Wilhoit, *Editor*
Speech News
Drury College
Springfield, Missouri

———

Mrs. Dorothy Weirich of Webster Groves High School is chairman of the speech certification committee.

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The association has endorsed and submitted to the State Department of Education a proposal for a minimum of 18 hours speech training for those teachers who teach speech in combination with some other subject, and 30 hours for teachers who teach speech only.

———

OHIO

Mr. Austin J. Freeley, *President*
John Carroll University
Cleveland 18, Ohio
Mr. Tom Ludlum, *Vice. Pres.*
Capital University
Columbus, 9, Ohio
Mr. James Golden, *Sec.-Treas.*
Muskingum College
New Concord, Ohio

———

The annual convention of the Association was held at the Deshler-Hilton Hotel in Columbus on October 8, 1960.

———

Mr. Kenneth G. Hance, President of the Speech Association of America, was the luncheon speaker. His subject was "The Field of Speech: Some Accomplishments and Some Opportunities."

———

Mr. Austin Freeley presided at the General Session. The theme was "The 1960 Presidential Campaign, A Mid-View."

———

Mr. Kenneth G. Hance was moderator-commentator of a session entitled "What Is Speech?"

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The speech world of Ohio is saddened by the untimely death of the wife of our colleague G. Vernon Kelley of Wittenberg. Mrs. Kelley was a familiar visitor to speech contests throughout the state. She took an active interest in the professional life of her husband. Mrs. Kelley was the only passenger killed as the plane on which they were traveling ditched off the coast of the Philippines early in July. Dr. and Mrs. Kelley were on a cruise by air around the world.

———

OKLAHOMA

Mrs. Dora Hobbs, *President*
510 East Cherry St.
Chushing, Oklahoma
Mr. Fred Kolch, *Pres. Elect*
Oklahoma State University
Stillwater, Oklahoma
Miss Doris Niles, *Exec. Vice Pres.*
Will Rogers High School
Tulsa, Oklahoma
Mrs. Pat Gulley, *Recording Sec.*
Northwest High School
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

———

The Oklahoma Association has a standing committee to choose "Oklahoma's Outstanding Young Speech Teacher." The idea was put into effect two years ago for the purpose of encouraging young people in the field of speech instruction. The new recipient of the award had not been announced at press time.

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A committee is at work on writing a code of standards and ethics to submit to the High School Speech League.

———

Miss Doris Niles, Tulsa Will Rogers High School, has been appointed as a Public Relations Officer of the Association to advertise the contribution of speech to education.

———

The Speech Educators Conference of Oklahoma was held Sep-

tember 29, 30, and October 1, 1960. The theme stressed was "better teaching, better results."

SOUTH DAKOTA

Hazel Heiman, *President*
312 North 40th St.
Rapid City, South Dakota

The spring Speech Teacher's Meeting was held at Sioux Falls, April 23, 1960.

Mr. L. R. Kremer, Washington High School, presented a one-act play in arena fashion. After the presentation he explained how he had converted his classroom into a theatre.

Mr. Jerry Simmons of Nettleton's Commercial College explained the Dale Carnegie course in speech.

A pre-school speech teachers workshop was held in Pierre August 17 and 18. No report of the deliberations have reached us at press time.

WISCONSIN

Mr. Harold C. Larson, *Pres.*
Carroll College
Waukesha, Wisconsin
Mr. Kenneth Anderson, *Vice Pres.*
Neenah High School
Neenah, Wisconsin
Mrs. Ethel C. Rich, *Sec.-Treas.*
Baraboo High School
Baraboo, Wisconsin

There are two committees currently working on speech problems. The committees are: certification of teachers of Speech in the secondary schools, Dr. Wynette Barnett, chairman; and certification of teachers of extra-curricular speech in the high schools, Dr. Gladys Borchers, chairman.

A July bulletin of the State Department of Public Instruction, issued by Mr. R. F. Lewis, contains proposed changes to be recommended by the department. The following is an exerpt from the bulletin.

(d) Speech shall be considered an academic subject.

1. High school teachers of speech shall hold a minimum of an approved college minor in speech preparation. Speech certification shall become mandatory for all classroom teachers of speech with the school year 1962-63. Persons with at least 12 years of experience as teachers of speech prior to July 1, 1962 may be licensed without meeting the above requirement. Persons with from 8 to 11 years experience as teachers of speech prior to July 1, 1962 may be licensed by completing 6 semester hours of college speech training. A course in speech fundamentals is required.

2. Extra-curricular speech activities. Certification for coaching or directing extra-curricular speech activities will be recommended but not required. Colleges are urged to establish suitable patterns of preparation for coaching or directing extra-curricular speech activities. Such patterns should be established as minors and should be guides to employing officers.

This report has been considered at a special meeting of people interested in curriculum changes. Since no displeasure was expressed toward the above recommendation, it is presumed that it will be adopted by the Department of Public Instruction as recommended.

The Wisconsin Speech Association will hold its annual meeting during the November meeting of the Wisconsin Education Association in Milwaukee.

POST SCRIPT . . .

The ninth International Northern Great Plains Conference on

Special Education and Rehabilitation, with representation from Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Montana, Wyoming, South Dakota, and North Dakota met August 15-18 on the campus of Minot (N.D.) State Teachers College. This conference brings together the fields of medicine, special education, speech therapy, physical therapy, occupational therapy, rehabilitation counselling, psychology, social work, and administration. Dr. Edna Gilbert, State Teachers College at Minot, is president of the conference.

———

Minot State Teachers continued their speech and hearing clinic throughout the summer. Mrs. Violette Ehart devoted full time to the college clinic. Mr. Hal Pufall had charge of the clinics for teenage stutterers and for children with cleft palate. Dr. Edna Gilbert conducted a clinic for twenty children with delayed speech and articulatory problems.

———

Rebuttal, a series of debates between distinguished college and university teams on propositions of current interest was presented over WBBM-TV, Chicago, (CBS), in association with Northwestern University. Each Sunday afternoon one program was televised "live" at 2:30 and another debate was videotaped after the "live" program for presentation at a later date. This schedule began April 17th and continued through June 5th.

———

The following schools participated in the *Rebuttal* series: Northwestern, Ohio State University, Illinois State Normal University, Notre Dame University, Marquette University, Northern Illinois University, Purdue University, Loyola University of Chicago, University of Illinois, Southern Illinois University, University of Southern California, King's College, Wayne State University, and Augustana College.

———

Sixty-five students from five states attended the Tenth Annual High School Forensic Workshop at Ohio University, Athens, Ohio, from June 12-25. Prof. Paul D. Brandes was chairman of the Workshop. He was assisted by Prof. Richard Bald, Mr. Theodore Walwik, and the following assistants in Speech: Gary Hawkins, Kenneth Frandsen, Joseph Miller, and Robert Williams. A three day round-robin tournament concluded the debate phase of the workshop. Students in interpretation, oratory, and extempore speaking performed at the concluding Speech Banquet.

———

A Communication and Public Address Experimental Laboratory has been established during the past year at the University of Wisconsin. The laboratory has been designed to further experimental methods of investigation of Public Address and Oral Communication. Dr. Theodore Clevenger is director of the laboratory.

———

The 70th annual contest of the Northern Oratorical League was held at the University of Wisconsin on May 6, 1960. The following six universities are active participants in this event: Iowa, Michigan, Minnesota, Northwestern, Western Reserve, and Wisconsin. Mr. James Copeland, Univ. of Michigan, was awarded 1st prize, and Mr. Frank L. Greenagel, Univ. of Minnesota, was awarded 2nd.

———

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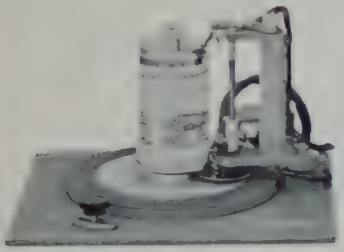

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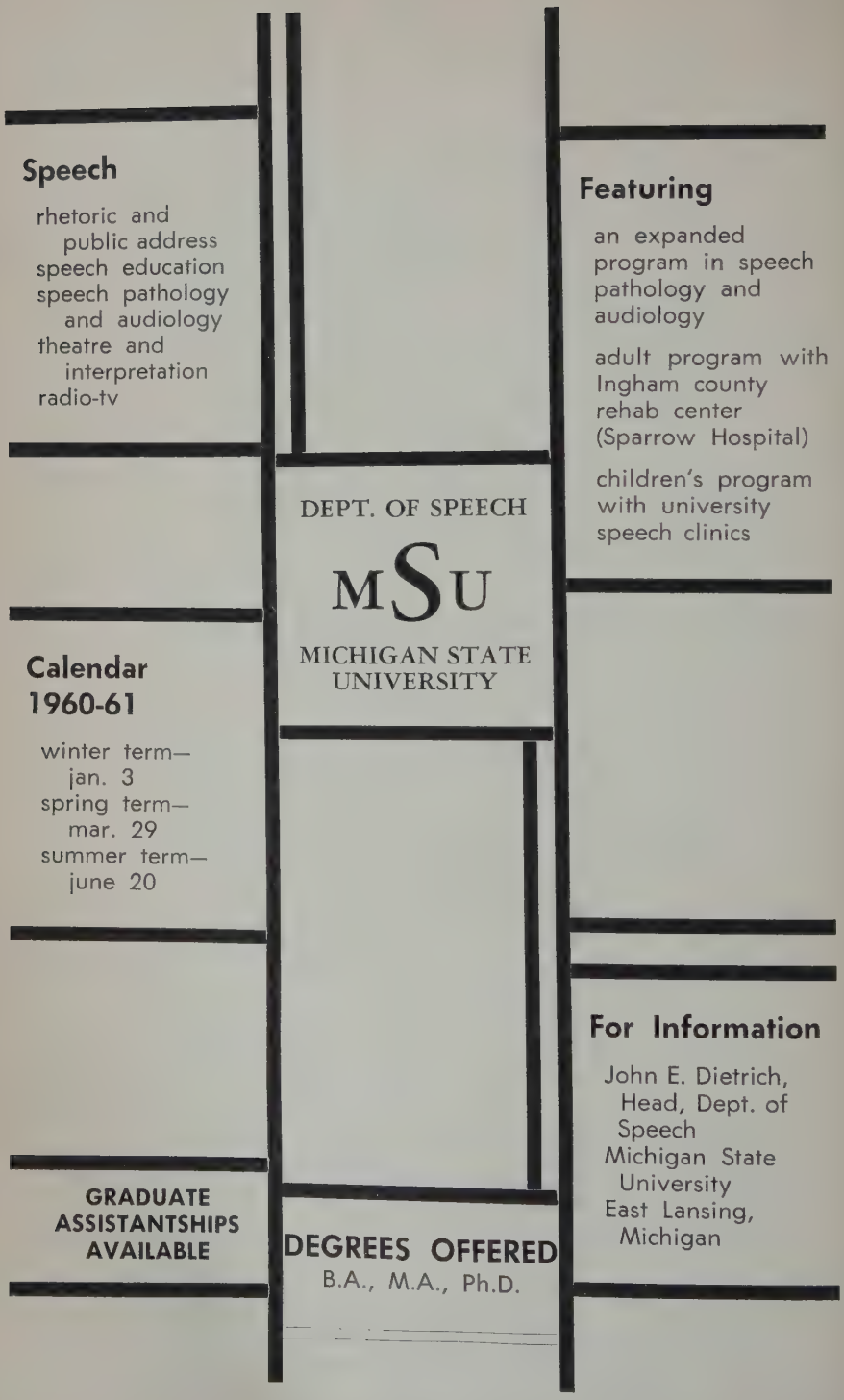
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